

THE
H. C. L.
PRIVATE LIFE
OF THE
ROMANS.

TRANSLATED FROM
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The French of M. D'ARNAY, Pro-
fessor of the Belles Lettres, &c.
at Lausanne, in Switzerland.

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MONS. D'ARNAY, the author, or rather the compiler of this little treatise, professes to have taken his materials from the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, and Belles Lettres, retrenching what he imagined not to be essential to his subject, and adding, on the contrary, whatever he thought agreeable to his plan. “Of what importance is it to the reader,” says he, “whether what I offer him be my own or another’s, provided that he be satisfied? This is the end that I have proposed; I wish to have attained it.”

IN matter of compilation, it were to be wished that care was always taken to point out the authors, and quote the authorities on which any historical facts are advanced. The

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reader would then be enabled to judge for himself, and might, with the less trouble, examine whether the compiler had made a proper use of his authors. M. D'Arnay has, however, been very little solicitous to give his readers that satisfaction. Some of the classics he has quoted wrong, and from others he has taken large passages without quoting them at all.

THE translator has been at some pains to remedy this. He has rendered M. D'Arnay faithfully, but at the same time has quoted many passages from Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, Seneca, and the poets, by way of note at the bottom of the page, taking care to mark the book, chapter, or verse, that the reader might readily have recourse to them.

A TREATISE on the life of the Romans naturally inclines a reader
to

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to expect some elevation of sentiment, some dignity in the style: but he is desired to observe, that this is *on the private life of the Romans*; and that the subject necessarily led the author to descend into such *minutiæ*, that elegance of style was out of the question, and perspicuity only necessary.

THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF THE
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CHAP. I.

Of the manners of the ancient Romans. Of the origin and effects of luxury at Rome. Of clocks, and of the distribution of the hours. Of the occupations of the forenoon. Of prayers. Of morning-visits. Of pleadings; and of assemblies in the Forum, &c.

MENS occupations are generally conformable to the manners of the age, and the manners suited to their condition. One and the other have varied amongst the Romans, according to the diversity of times. Under the Kings, the necessities of life and the dangers of war divided their cares for the

space of two hundred and forty-four years.

UNDER the consuls, when they had no war abroad, they were agitated at home by an evil still more dangerous. The domineering spirit of the patricians, opposed by that of independence amongst the plebeians, held Rome in almost continual broils.

THIS kind of civil war proceeded from no fund of hatred or reciprocal aversion; but rather from the evil dispositions of those in authority, from the ambitious designs of the consuls, and from the seditious enterprises of the tribunes. The senate even frequently prevented the disorders into which the people might have run, by a well-timed relaxation of their authority; and sometimes the people were satisfied with that condescension without abusing it.

THESE remedies palliated the evil, but did not cure it. Rome agitated by turns, by domestic troubles and foreign wars, had only intervals of tranquillity. These precious times were given to agriculture. Then, the difference of ranks made none in occupations. The great were not less laborious

laborious than the common people; and those two conditions so distinct in the city, under the titles of *patricians* and *plebeians* in the country, were lost in the general name of *husbandmen*.

THE first magistrates, and the generals of the armies, cultivated their fields, and threshed their grain, with those arms which had vanquished the enemy and supported the state. And the Roman people blushed not to give the command of their armies to those illustrious labourers, drawn from the plough to be intrusted with the safety of their country.

HISTORY furnishes many of these examples, not only in the early times of the republic, but also in those flourishing ages when the Romans, already masters of Italy, caused their power to be respected beyond the seas.

I SPEAK not therefore of Quintius Cincinnatus alone, who was found labouring his field by those who came to salute him dictator. M. Curius, after having conquered the Sabines and the Samnites, and after having driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, was possessed of but one small farm, which he cultivated himself. The elder

Cato was never weary of visiting it, and admiring the greatness of soul of its master, whom he took for his model. By his example, he betook himself to agriculture. He has even left us some works upon the subject. He went out to work with his slaves, and returned to sit at the same table, eating the same bread with them, and drinking of the same wine. Scipio Africanus, after having defeated in Spain four of the greatest Carthaginian generals, after having conquered Hannibal himself, and rendered Carthage tributary to Rome, took up the spade, planted and grafted his trees. At that time, far from thinking the labours of the country dishonourable at Rome, the custom of residing chiefly on their estates was so constant and uniform, that the name of *Viatores* was given to certain petty officers, only because they were continually on the road to inform the senators of extraordinary assemblies; for, as to the ordinary ones, they were held regularly twice a-month; the day of the calends, and that of the ides; and in this case there was no need of new advertisement.

If the magistrates and great men lived
in

in this manner, what may we judge of the other citizens; who, still more attached to the culture of their lands, because more at their own liberty, quitted it not unless called to the toils of war? The Romans, in the first and happy ages of the republic, (I speak of those in the easiest circumstances), were all labourers, and all the labourers were soldiers.

In time of peace, the greatest part saw the city only every nine days. They came thither only to provide themselves with necessaries, and to examine whether they should approve or reject such regulations as the magistrates caused to be posted up at the Capitol, and at the Forum, three days successively before they presented them to be confirmed*. It was on these market-days that the tribunes harangued the people on affairs of government, and it was these harangues which fomented misunderstandings between the orders as long as the republic lasted.

YET notwithstanding the dissensions and seditions which they excited, more than three ages passed from the expulsion of

* This is what was called *promulgare per trinum nundinum*.

the kings before any blood was shed in Rome on that account. Love of their country, and close persuasion that the ruin of one of the orders would infallibly draw on that of the other, produced that moderation. The Romans had not yet, says Livy, the barbarous courage to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens: they knew no war but against a foreign enemy; and the highest excesses of the malecontents went no further than a temporary separation from their country. The horrors of civil war were reserved for those aftertimes, when the Roman armies employed their swords against each other, and Rome floated in the blood of her citizens.

SUCH were the manners and principal occupations of the Romans before that people had been corrupted by riches, and by luxury. Probity, simplicity, and the love of labour, were virtues as common at Rome in those times as they were rare in the succeeding ages, "In the camp, as
" in the city," says Sallust*, "good
" maxims

* Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur — jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam

“ maxims and good manners prevailed;
 “ and the sovereign empire that justice
 “ and virtue had over the Romans, was
 “ less the effect of the laws than of their
 “ good natural dispositions. They main-
 “ tained themselves and the republic by
 “ two means : in war, by courage ; in
 “ peace, by justice and moderation.”
 But “ as soon as riches,” says this au-
 thor in another place *, “ began to be
 “ held in honour, and that they alone
 “ paved the way to command, to power,
 “ and to glory, virtue was no longer
 “ esteemed ; poverty was accounted
 “ shameful, purity of manners was look-
 “ ed upon as the effect of melancholy
 “ and misanthropy, and the fruits of
 “ these riches were luxury, avarice, and
 “ pride.”

quam natura valebat. — Duabus artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. *Sallust. Bell. Catilin.* c. 9.

* Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur : hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere. *Ibid. c. 12.*

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THIS change amongst the Romans was the consequence of their growing greatness. When, after the second Punic war, they had pushed their conquests into Greece, into Asia, Syria, &c. then into Africa; and when, lastly, they had destroyed Carthage, then it was, that forgetting their ancient maxims, they adopted those of the conquered nations, and subjected themselves to the vices of the people they had subjected to their empire.

INVINCIBLE in labours, in dangers, and in adversity, they yielded to the sweets of rest and prosperity, to the charms of plenty and of riches. From a people accustomed to the toils of war and of agriculture, they became a people who no longer picqued themselves on any other merit than a pretended fine taste for all the refinements of a voluptuous life. "There reigned throughout," says an historian, "an effeminacy which outran
"all the necessities of nature, which
"taught them to be beforehand with
"cold and weariness, to lie down before
"the need of sleep was felt, to eat and
"drink

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“ drink, without waiting for hunger, or
“ for thirst *.”

A THOROUGH change immediately appeared in Rome ; nothing was seen but new masters in arts, which they had hitherto been ignorant of. They gave their minds to the study of grandeur and magnificence in buildings, of sumptuousness and delicacy in their tables, of richness and pomp in their dress, of variety and singularity in their furniture.

THEY began to commit to slaves every toilsome business, and to reserve only what was agreeable, or what was reckoned honourable. Hence that multitude of slaves which were counted by thousands, and distinguished by nations. Some forced by day to labour the earth in chains, under inspectors, also slaves, and with no other nourishment than bread, and water, and salt, by night were shut up in subterraneous prisons which opened only at top. Others, treated with less hardship, were

* — Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere ; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset ; non famem, aut sitim ; neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiiri ; sed ea omnia luxu antecapere.
Sallust. Bell. Catil. c. 13.

fixed

fixed to the house in town, and to the personal service of their masters, with offices and names till then unknown*.

THE elder Cato never ceased to represent in the senate the fatal consequences of the luxury which in his time began to introduce itself into the republic in proportion as she enlarged her power. "Conscript Fathers," said he, speaking of the Lex Oppia†, which was proposed

* They were called *Atrienfis*, *Anteambulo*, *Pedissequus*, *Aguso*, *Lecticarius*, *Unguentarius*, *Balneator*, *Unctor*, *Coquus*, *Cellarius*, *Chironomontes*, *Pocillator*, *Cubicularius*, *Amanuensfs*, *Procurator*, *Dispensator*, &c. Porter, Usher, Footman, Groom of the Stables, Chairman, Perfumer, Bather, or Bath-keeper, Anointer, Usher, Cook, Butler, Carver, Cup-bearer, Groom of the chamber, Clerk, Steward, House-steward, &c.

† That law prohibited the ladies from employing more than half an ounce of gold for their use, from wearing cloaths of different colours, and from being carried in chariots in Rome, or a thousand paces round it, unless on occasion of public sacrifices. It had been established in the height of the war of Hannibal. Twenty years after, in the year of Rome 557, it was abrogated in spite of the efforts of Cato.

to be repealed *, “ I have often com-
 “ plained before you of the luxury of the
 “ women, and of the men, as well magi-
 “ strates as private persons ; you have
 “ often heard me say, that the republic
 “ was attacked by two contrary evils, a-
 “ varice and luxury, two plagues which
 “ have overturned the greatest empires.
 “ The state becomes more flourishing
 “ from day to day, and makes continually
 “ new advances. Already have we ad-
 “ vanced into Greece and into Asia, opu-
 “ lent countries, and full of all the in-
 “ citements which can rouse the passions.
 “ Already have our hands reached the
 “ treasures of kings. But it is that very
 “ opulence which alarms me, at which I
 “ tremble. I dread, lest the spoils of

* Sæpe me querentem de feminarum, sæpe de vi-
 rorum, nec de privatorum modo, sed etiam magi-
 stratum sumptibus audistis ; diversisque duobus vi-
 tiis, avaritia et luxuria, civitatem laborare : quæ
 pestes omnia magna imperia everterunt. Hæc ego
 quo melior, lætiorque in dies fortuna reipublicæ est,
 imperiumque crescit : et jam in Græciam Asiamque
 transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas,
 et regias etiam attrahamus gazas : eo plus horreo, ne
 illæ magis res nos ceperint, quam nos illas. *Liv.*
lib. 34. cap. 4.

“ conquered

“conquered enemies should be fatal to
 “us, and we become the slaves of those
 “riches which our arms have gained,” &c.

THE fears of Cato were not imaginary : all he had foreseen soon came to pass. Luxury, which entered Rome in triumph, along with the riches and the vices of the conquered nations, stifled the love of virtue and of toil, which had been its honour and strength. In vain did the Censor exert himself to recall the manners, if not to the severity of ancient times, at least to some tolerable degree of moderation. The taste for pleasure, and the contagion of example, were always too strong for the wisdom of his regulations.

VIRTUE no longer bore up against the torrent of vices. The ancient, regular, and laborious life, was relaxed and sunk in idleness. Extortion and violence prevailed amongst the great and magistrates, whose moderation and discretion had been the admiration of the universe. Exhausted by excess of luxury and debauchery, they entered upon governments only to enrich themselves with the spoil of the provinces. They wrung from them immense

menſe ſums by all ſorts of exactions, to purchaſe new employments at Rome. They pillaged allies and ſubjects, to procure the means of corrupting their fellow-citizens.

IN vain did the oppreſſed people ſeek redreſs at Rome. The deciſion of their proceſſes depended on a multitude of judges, who being, for the moſt part, engaged in the ſame crimes, proſtituted their judgments to party-intereſts. The laws themſelves could not put a ſtop to the diſorder. By theſe laws, the people could force the magiſtrates and governours of provinces to make reſtitution. But, like cobwebs, which catch ſmall flies, but are eaſily broke through by large ones, they yielded to favour and to force.

“IT is not a hundred and ten years *,”

* Nondum centum et decem anni ſunt, cum de pecuniis repetundis a L. Piſone lata eſt lex, nulla antea cum fuiſſet, at vero poſtea tot leges †, et proximæ quæque duriores: tot rei, tot damnati, tantum Italicum bellum propter judiciorum metum excitatum: tanta, ſublatis legibus et judiciis, expilatio direptioque ſociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum, non noſtra virtute valeamus. *Cicer. de offic. lib. 2. c. 21. ſub. fin.*

† Cæcilia, Servilia, Attilia, Cornelia, Julia.

says Cicero, "since the laws against extortioners have appeared amongst us. The first of them was established by L. Piso, and before his time they knew not what it meant *. But since that we have seen so many of them, and one still more rigorous than another; so many have been found guilty, so many have been condemned; so great a war has been raised in Italy by those who feared the same fate; in fine, avarice and violence, surmounting law and justice, have committed so many extortions and robberies on our own allies, that, if we still subsist, it may be said to be more owing to the weakness of others, than to our own strength."

THE senate, which had been the refuge and asylum of kings and nations, the magistrates and generals, who had once placed all their glory in defending the provinces, and supporting the allies, with

*-That law, known under the title of *Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis*, was carried by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, tribune of the people, at the beginning of the third Punic war, under the consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius, anno U. C. 604.

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inviolable justice and fidelity; from protectors of the world, became the tyrants of it.

THAT corruption which always begins amongst the rich and great, very soon descended to the common people. Not to live in idleness and dissipation, was no longer to live like a citizen. All the hours of the day, which were formerly employed in some useful business, were divided between pleasures and the intercourse of civilities, between the agitations which the passions exact, and the repose which nature demands. Let us see how these hours were distributed.

THE Romans were near four hundred and sixty years, without knowing any other division of the day than morning, noon, and night. The laws of the twelve tables * even mention only sun-rise and

* Duodecim tabulis ortus tantum et occasus nominantur: post aliquot annos adjectus est et meridies, accenso consulum id pronunciante, cum Curio inter rostra et Græcostasium prospexisset talem solem. A columna ænea ad carcerem inclinato fidere, supremam pronuntiabat. Sed hoc serenis tantum diebus usque ad primum Punicum bellum. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 60.*

sun-set; it was not till some years afterwards that an officer of the consuls proclaimed mid-day aloud, which the Romans then distinguished only in fine weather, and by the height of the sun.

PLINY reports *, on the credit of an ancient author, that the first instrument which the Romans had to divide the hours was a sun-dial, which *L. Papirius Cursor* placed in the court of the temple of *Quirinus*, twelve years before the war against *Pyrrhus*: but he seems to doubt the truth of this relation. He weakens it himself; and to give something more certain, and better acknowledged, he says, after *Varro*, that it was during the first Punic war that the first dial was exposed

* *Princeps Romanis solarium horologium statuiffe, ante duodecim annos, quam cum Pyrrho bellatum est, ad ædem Quirini; Lucius Papirius Cursor, cum eandem dedicaret, a patre suo votam, a Fabio Vestali proditur. Sed neque facti horologii rationem vel artificem significat, nec unde translatum sit, aut apud quem scriptum id invenerit. M. Varro primum statutum in publico, secundum rostra in columna tradit, bello Punico primo, a M. Valerio Messala consule, Catina capta in Sicilia: deportatum inde post xxx. annos quam de Papiriano horologio traditur anno urb. CCCCLXXVII. Id. ibid.*

to public view at Rome, and placed upon a column of the tribunal of harangues. Marcus Valerius Messala brought it from Sicily after the taking of Catana, thirty years after Papirius, the year of Rome four hundred and seventy-seven.

ALTHOUGH this dial, drawn for the meridian of Catana, which was different from that of Rome, could not show the hours justly; yet, as imperfect as it was, the Romans conformed to it for the space of ninety-nine years, till Quintus Marcus Philippus, who was censor with Paulus Æmilius, gave them another more exact. This, of all the acts of his censorship, was that which obtained him the greatest applause. These sort of clocks were of use only in the day, and in clear weather. Scipio Nasica, five years after, in the year of Rome five hundred and ninety-five, first brought into use, and placed under cover a water-clock, which shewed the hours equally by day and night. There were twelve in the day, and as many in the night, without distinction of seasons.

VITRUVIUS * attributes the invention of water-clocks to Ctesibius, a native of Alexandria; he lived under the two first Ptolemys. The Romans had different kinds of them, which marked the hours in different ways. They called them *horologium bibernum*, winter-clock, and sometimes also *horologium nocturnum*, night-clock, in opposition to the dials, which were of no use in the night, and of very little in winter, when the rays of the sun are often intercepted by clouds.

To form an idea of these clocks, we may conceive a pretty large bason filled with water, which, by a little hole contrived in the bottom, emptied itself into another vessel of nearly the same capacity, in the space of twelve hours; and where the water rising gradually, brought up perpendicularly a bit of cork, or the figure of a genius pointing the hours, which were marked one above another on columns or pilasters.

THESE clocks were different from those which the ancients called *Clepsydra*. This was a glass filled with water, of a pyramidal figure, in form of a cone. The

* Vitruv. de architect. l. 9. c. 9.

base was pierced, the upper orifice very narrow and lengthened into a point; on the water swam a piece of cork bearing a needle to mark the hours, traced along the vase, by descending gradually as it ran out.

DIALS, clepsydræ, and water-clocks, were all the Romans knew. They were ignorant of the use of clocks with wheels. As useful as they are, many ages passed before the art of making them was discovered. We are even uncertain of the time and the author of that invention. The present which the Calif *Aaron Rachid* made to Charlemain of a striking clock, was looked on as a wonder. Æginard says, that it was a water-clock which marked the hours by the fall of some balls of metal upon a bell, and by figures of men which opened and shut certain doors contrived in the clock according to the number of the hours *.

I have said, that the Romans reckoned
twelve

* Ughelli in his *Italia Sacra*, and the Marquis Maffei in his *Verona Illustrata*, attribute the invention of clocks with wheels to an archdeacon of Verona,

twelve hours in the day, and as many in the night, whatever was the season: so that in summer the hours of the day were longer, and in winter shorter than those of the night. The first began at sun-rise; the sixth at mid-day; and the twelfth at sun-set; from thence began the first hour of the night, of which the sixth was at midnight, and the twelfth at sun-rise. And that every father of a family might know the hour, a slave was kept in the

rona, named *Pacificus*, who was born in the year 778, and died in the year 846. Others, to the Monk *Gerbert*, who became Pope in the year 999, under the name of *Silvester II.* Others again, as *Polydore Virgil*, and the Cardinal *Bona* in his *Psalmod. Div.* will have it, that it is impossible to determine any thing about the matter.

We are also ignorant of the time when they began to place clocks in steeples and churches. There were some of them in Italy in the thirteenth century. That of Bologne was famous. The clock of the *Palais* is the first great clock which was made at Paris, at, or about the year 1370. *Charles VI.* sent for *Henry de Vic* from Germany to make it; and the custom which is still kept up in Germany, Flanders, England, Switzerland, &c. of keeping men to cry the hour in the night, arose from their not having anciently any of these sorts of clocks.

house

house with no other employment than to observe the hours, and report them to the master. Pliny, speaking of sudden deaths, says, that one Bæbius, who had been Prætor in Bithynia, fell down dead after having demanded the hour of his slave, *cum a puero quesisset horas* *. Seneca treated with contempt that lazy custom of waiting to be informed by another of the moment for certain actions; *ut per se scire non possint an esuriant* †; “as if,” says he, “they could not know, or, as if they could not feel of themselves when they were hungry.”

THIS method of dividing the day into twelve hours, longer or shorter, according to the diversity of the seasons, came originally from the Babylonians. From them the Greeks received it, and the Romans held it from the Greeks. The hours of the day were equal to those of the night, only in the times of the equinox: then, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th hour, might answer to our 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Under the Emperors,

* Plin. hist. nat. l. 7. c. 53.

† Seneca, de brevitate vitæ, c. 12.

they began to perceive that this distribution was not convenient. By little and little, they introduced the manner of counting the twenty-four hours, from midnight to midnight. It appears, that this custom had already obtained in the reign of Adrian. All the world knows, that it is generally received in Europe, except in Italy, where they reckon the day from sunset to sunset, and the whole twenty-four hours successively.

THE twelve hours of the day were divided into four parts, and the twelve hours of the night into four watches: "Because," says Vegetius *, "it was not possible for the soldier to stand sentinel the whole night, they therefore divided it into four watches, and relieved the sentinel at every watch. They made use of clepsydræ to denote these watches, each of which was three hours." The first

* Et quia impossibile videbatur in speculis per totam noctem vigilantes singulos permanere, ideo in quatuor partes ad clepsydram sunt divise vigiliæ, ut non amplius quam tribus horis nocturnis necesse sit vigilare. A tubicine omnes vigiliæ committuntur, et finitis horis a cornicine revocantur. *Flav. Veget. de re militari, l. 3. c. 8.*

part of the day comprehended the three first hours after sun-rise, the second lasted till mid-day; the third, till the ninth hour, or, according to our way of reckoning, till three in the afternoon; the fourth concluded at sun-set, which closed the twelfth and last hour of the day. The first watch comprehended the three first hours of the night; the second, the three following, and lasted till midnight; the third and fourth included the six others, till sun-rise.

THE first part of the day was called *prima*, the second *tertia*, the third *sexta*, the fourth *nona*; because they began at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hour of the day. The first watch was called *vespera*, evening; the second *media nox*, midnight; the third, *gallicinium*, cock-crowing; the fourth, *conticinium*, the time of silence, or, time when the cock ceases to crow.

MENTION is made of these watches in the New Testament. They are spoke of Luke ii. 8. xii. 38. Matth. xiv. 25. and Mark xiii. 35. 36. where Jesus Christ recommends to his disciples to watch and pray. "Watch ye therefore, (for ye know
" not when the master of the house co-
meth;

“meth; at even, or at midnight, or at
 “the cock-crowing, or in the morning);
 “left, coming suddenly, he find you
 “sleeping.”

BUT the Old Testament, which speaks of the first watches, 1 Sam. xi. 11. of the second, Judges vii. 19. and of the third, Exodus xiv. 24. makes no mention of a fourth, because the Jews divided the night only into three watches. The custom of dividing it into four, came from the Romans; from whom they also took the practice of reckoning twelve hours to the day, and twelve to the night. “Are there not twelve hours in the day?” says our Lord to his disciples, John xi. 9. They also divided them into four parts; and it is from thence that the word *hour* is sometimes employed in the New Testament for one of these four parts. It is in this sense that many interpreters take it in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Matth. xx.; and that they reconcile the passage of St John xix. 14. where it is said, that Pilate condemned Jesus Christ about the sixth hour, with that of St Mark xv. 25. which says, on the contrary, that it was the third hour when the Jews crucified

fied him. The first speaks of the ordinary hours; and in the last, by the third hour is meant the third part of the day, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour; that space of time having been employed in the crucifixion of our Lord, who was nailed to the cross a little after the sixth hour, or mid-day, and expired at the ninth, or, as we should say, at three in the afternoon.

THE Jews, to distinguish these sorts of hours, called the ordinary hours, *hours of the day*, and the others, *hours of prayer*, or, *hours of the temple*, because they went up to the temple to pray three times a-day; morning and evening, when they offered the perpetual sacrifice, and in the middle of the day; at the hours which began those three parts of the day, that is, at nine, at noon, and at three in the afternoon, according to our manner of counting. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. iii. 1. "that Peter and John
"went up together into the temple at the
"hour of prayer, being the ninth hour,"
that is to say, at three in the afternoon.

BEFORE we take a view of what the Romans, such as I have described them, did,

in common life, throughout the course of a day, let us first distinguish the variety of tastes and inclinations amongst mankind ; since, by these, they are directed the half of their lives.

*Mille hominum species, et rerum discolor
usus :*

Velle suum cuique est, et voto vivitur uno.

Thus, I speak not of the youth, who, careless of the future, abandons himself to his desires ; nor of the old man, who, vexed with the present, and regretting the past, is occupied only with his infirmities. It were too difficult to follow the one in his rambles, and the other would furnish nothing but those unavailing complaints, the portion of old age. Neither shall I speak of such, as, denied to society, live buried in their houses as in tombs, *qui sic in domo sunt tanquam in conditorio*, says Seneca ; nor of those misanthropical tempers, which affect to contradict, and joy to thwart the taste of their age, in things the most indifferent, and authorised by custom. I shall consider only those, who, keeping a just mean between the recluse and the man of business, could fall
in

in with the world without renouncing themselves; who, equally mindful of the affairs of their family, and of those of the state, attended to the cares of both; who, without living in idleness and dissipation, divided their time between business and pleasure; such, in a word, who, one while in public assemblies, and another in domestic retirement, without being ingrossed by either, discharged the claims of social intercourse, and what was due to the republic, to their relations, to their friends, and to their family.

PERSONS of this class employed the first hour of the day in the most essential duties of religion. The temples were open to all the world, and even often lighted before day, for the most early. The worship they there paid the gods, consisted in adoring and invoking them by public and private prayers; in offering sacrifices, incense, and perfumes; and in hymns, which the youth of both sexes, and of the first families, sung morning and evening to their praise, to the sound of instruments.

THOSE who could not go to the temples, supplied that duty in their oratories,

where the rich made sacrifices and offerings, and the poor vows and prayers.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS had in his palace two chapels, where were consecrated the principal objects of his worship, divided into two classes, one sacred to virtue, and the other to talents. In the first he had placed the statues of good princes, amongst whom he gave the first place to Alexander the Great, and those of the sages who had been the benefactors of mankind by their instructions. Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius Tyaneus, and Jesus Christ also, were indifferently honoured as gods. Strange assemblage! but which shews however the disposition of this prince to reverence virtue, where-ever he thought it to be found. The second chapel was for heroes and illustrious men; Achilles, Cicero, Virgil, whom he called the Plato of the poets, and some other famous names. In these two chapels he offered sacrifice every day; and by this act of religion began the day, the rest of which he divided between business, and the indispensable necessity of some amusements.

WHEN Augustus, says Suetonius *, was

* Sueton. in vit. August. c. 78.

obliged to rise early for the service of his friends, or on some religious motive, he lay in the house of such of his domestics as dwelt the nearest to the place where the ceremony was to be performed. Horace also makes mention of the prayers addressed to the gods morning and evening for the preservation of the same Emperor *; and the god of the Tiber, in the eighth book of the *Æneid*, tells *Æneas* to offer his prayers to the goddess *Juno* early in the morning †. These morning prayers and adorations were for the celestial gods, those of the evening for the infernal.

IN the temples, a priest pronounced, from a book, the prayers which the people recited, standing turned towards the east, and their heads veiled, to keep their

* Hinc ad vina redit lætus, et alteris

Te mensis adhibet deum:

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero

Defuso pateris; et laribus tuum

Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris

Et magni memor Herculis.

Hor. carm. l. 4. od. 5.

† Surge age, nate dea; primisque cadentibus
astris

Junoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque

Supplicibus supera votis. — *Æneid. lib. 8. v. 59.*

attention unperplexed and untroubled by the view of any object of ill omen. They were to invoke the gods by name; and to avoid mistakes, they were accustomed to add, *Sive tu deus, sive tu dea es; Whether thou art a god, or whether thou art a goddess.* They touched the altars while they prayed, advancing the hand from their lips towards their gods. They embraced the knees of their images; because they regarded the knees as the seat of mercy.

WE are not to wonder that they employed an hour, and sometimes more, in their daily prayers and adorations. If they had contented themselves with asking only health of body and of mind, according to the precept of Juvenal*, their liturgy would not have been so long: but the long train of wants, real or imaginary, the idle repetitions which they made, in hopes of being the sooner heard; in fine, the multiplicity of their gods, whom they were obliged to address separately for each particular want, drew them into prolixities, and bound them to ceremo-

* Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
Fortem posce animum, et mortis terrore carentem.

Juv. sat. 10. v. 356.
nies,

nies, from which those are free who know how to worship in spirit and in truth.

The folly of some, according to Seneca *, went so far as to ask of the gods what they durst not have asked of men, addressing their vows and prayers to them in a low voice, and whispering them as it were, that none else might hear. Others were seen, who, under the veil of devotion, pretended to impose, not on men only, but on the gods also. Thus Horace,

*Your honest man, on whom with awful praise
The forum and the courts of justice gaze,
If e'er he make a public sacrifice,
Dread Janus, Phœbus, clear and loud he cries ;
But when his prayer in earnest is preferr'd,
Scarce moves his lips, afraid of being heard.
" Beauteous Laverna †, my petition hear ;
" Let me with truth and sanctity appear :*
" Ob !

* *Nunc enim quanta dementia est hominum ? Turpissima vota diis insusurrant : si quis admovent aurem, conticescent ; et quod scire hominem nolunt, Deo narrant.* This epistle of Seneca concludes with so fine a precept, that the translator could not omit it. *Sic vive cum hominibus, tamquam Deus videat ; sic loquere cum Deo, tamquam homines audiant.* Sen. ep. 10.

† Laverna, (à λάρυξ, præda) was the goddess of

" *Oh ! give me to deceive, and, with a veil*

" *Of darkness and of night, my crimes conceal.*"

Franc. Hor. ep. 16.

AMBITION for the most part, and covetousness, had the greatest share in their devotion. They covered, with the veil of religion, the interests on which they acted, and their secret views of advancement. P. Scipio, says Livy *, did not attract admiration solely by the talents and virtues which he really possessed, but also by the address with which he knew, from his early youth, to set them off to advantage. In almost all that he proposed to the multitude, he made them believe, that the gods themselves inspired him, by apparitions, by dreams, or by revelations ; whether he himself had a mind smitten with these superstitions, or whether he had recourse to that artifice to make his opinions pass, and his orders be received as so many oracles. In this

of thieves and cheats, and the same who was adored in Greece, under the name of *Παξιδιχη*. In the worship that was paid her, they joined her to Mercury, who was also the god of thieves.

* Lib. 26. c. 19.

view, and to gain the early confidence of the citizens, he took care, from the time he received the *toga virilis*, never to enter upon any action, public or private, till he first went to the capitol, and there entering the temple, passed a considerable time in it alone, in meditating and praying. A rule which he had laid down, and which he observed all his life.

YET they gave not to the gods alone these first hours of the morning; they also employed them in paying those reciprocal duties, received and authorised in the world. At Rome, as elsewhere, the little paid their court to the great, the people to the magistrates, and the magistrates to the rich.

THE Orientals, who are born the slaves of their sovereigns, performed this with that characteristic meanness, the consequence of despotism revered to adoration. The Europeans, less pliant, and more free, expressed their sentiments of friendship, esteem and respect, in a manner more simple, and less servile. Thus, the Greeks, accustomed to the equality which reigns in free and popular states, regarded as an insupportable meanness, those
debaasing

debasing respects exacted from them by the kings of Persia, for whose service they came so courageously to expose their lives.

ROME, formed of a confused mixture of different nations, long retained the roughness of her first inhabitants. The toils of war, and of a rustic life, kept up their natural clownishness. Political order began to civilize them. Necessity rendered the lower people submissive and respectful. The great grew affable from ambition. Plenty, in fine, luxury and letters, joined to their commerce with the Greeks, carried the Roman urbanity to its perfection towards the end of the republic, and under the first Emperours. It declined insensibly, and degenerated into insipidity and meanness, along with the decay of the empire.

ROMULUS had, in some sort, made two states of his subjects, under the names of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; but, that the difference of ranks might not impair the union which ought to subsist between them, he united and attached these two different orders, by the ties of a reciprocal dependence. Every plebeian might chuse a patrician for his patron, and so become

become his client. The duty of the patrons consisted in protecting their clients, in pleading their causes, in defending them from oppression, in watching over their safety, and the prosperity of their affairs, &c. That of the clients consisted in rendering their patrons such services as depended upon them, in succouring them on occasions, and in assisting them with their fortunes and persons *.

But the great, who at first had been distinguished, and who distinguished themselves from the lower people, only to be their protectors, became, by excessive largesses, the masters of an infinity of volun-

* When the republic had enlarged her power, entire cities and provinces chose patrons at Rome. These patrons assisted them with their counsels and their credit. The senate even often referred to them the decision of their differences and of their affairs; and these cities, and these provinces, remaining attached to their patrons, acknowledged their good offices by all sorts of services, and by rich presents.

All Italy being engaged by oath to serve Octavius in the war against Antony, the single city of Bologna, which had always been under the protection of the Antonian family, demanded, and obtained permission not to enter into that league against their patron.

tary slaves, of greedy citizens, and interested clients. Then the meanness of the one, and the haughtiness of the others, raised the ceremonial to so great a height, that there was no longer left any vestiges of that equality which is the firmest support of republics. It was nothing but pride and vanity on the one side, adulation and servitude on the other.

It was an almost-indispensable obligation, that of going every morning to the levee of persons, to whom they either were, or would appear attached. The citizen, often even the magistrate, ran from door to door to pay his court to a great man; who went, in his turn, to pay the same homage to another. Juvenal has painted this very strongly; he sets them on foot very early, and does not even give them leisure to tie their garters and shoe-strings *.

* ——— habet Trebius propter quod rumpere
somnum

Debeat, et ligulas dimittere; sollicitus, ne
Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit orbem
Sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore, quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootæ.

✓ Sat. 5. v. 19.

THE

THE younger Pliny calls these visits *officia antelucana* *. If they were troublesome to those that made them, they were not less so to those who received them. Martial complains of a great man at Rome who had refused his.

*Since your return to Rome, I five times went,
To wish you well, and pay my compliment.*

*"Busy, not up," hath been my answer still :
Adieu : you will not let me wish you well.*

Hay's Martial.

Dicere de Lybicis reduci tibi gentibus Afer,

Continuis volui quinque diebus ave.

*Non vacat, aut dormit, dictum est bis, terque
reverso.*

Jam satis est ; non vis, Afer, avere, vale.

Lib. 9. ep. 8.

The authors I have cited, lived under the Emperors *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan* ; but what they say of these visits, was also practised in the times of the republic, with no other difference but in the motive. It was an homage paid to rank and virtue ; and no other advantage was sought from it, than to merit protection for offices and employments.

* Lib. 3. ep. 12.

CICERO speaks of it in many places. The state of his house was answerable to his rank. His door was open to every stranger who deserved any distinction. His apartments were filled in the morning with a multitude of citizens, who thought it an honour to attend his levee; and Pompey himself disdained not to appear in that croud. Most part of them repaired thither, not merely to pay a visit of compliment, but to accompany him to the senate and to the forum, where they waited to re-attend him to his house.

IN wishing good-morrow, they kissed their hand, and presented it to the person they saluted; hence it was called *adoring*; for it was thus, as I have already remarked, that they also saluted the gods; with this difference, that they did not uncover to the gods, whereas they appeared bare-headed before the great. Kissing the hand of the person saluted was equally a mark of respect. The military saluted by lowering their arms; but we do not find that the ordinary salute was accompanied with any bending of the body, or any genuflexion; these were not introduced

introduced till long after the fall of the republic.

VISITS were paid in a dress of ceremony. The vestibule adorned with the busts and statues of the ancestors of the masters of the house, was the place of assembling, where the citizens preluded by civilities among themselves, till their patron was visible, or till they understood he had avoided their compliments. If he went out in public, the train of clients surrounded his chair; some signalized their zeal by keeping off the croud, others by keeping the nearest to him, to see and attract his notice.

IN this manner was the first hour of the day filled up, and very often the second; but, if this was customary, it was not an indispensable law. The men of letters, people of business, and traders, were wiser than to throw away moments so precious.

For the third hour, which answered to our nine in the morning, it was employed in the affairs of the bar, except on the days which religion had consecrated to rest, or which were destined to things

of more importance, such as the comitia, or general assemblies.

THOSE who did not attend the pleadings as judges, or as parties, as advocates, or solicitors, were there as spectators, and in the times of the republic, as judges of the judges themselves. "Know," said Cicero, at the tribunal before which he was to accuse Verres, "know, that if you judge not Verres as you ought, the Roman people who hear me, will judge you yourselves; and that if you do pardon the criminal, ye are to expect no pardon."

IN effect, in the causes of private people, few, except the friends and relations of those concerned, attended; but when any affair was in question which interested the public, as, when a magistrate, on leaving his office, was accused of malversation, or of attempts against the liberty of his fellow-citizens, or of practices of oppression, then the great square*, where the most important causes and law-suits

* Hence the word *forum*, the name given to the great square, signified by metonymy the bar, situated

suits were pleaded, was scarce sufficient for all those whom interest or curiosity drew thither.

WHEN a proconsul, moreover, or a prætor, had given room for an accusation of extortion, of imbezzling the public treasure, &c. each citizen, regarding the state and the provinces with the same eye that the sons of a family regard the estate of their father, repaired to these judicatures to incline the judges to acquit themselves faithfully of their duties; while the friends of the accused, his relations and children, all in mourning, endeavoured to soften them by their tears

ted between Mount Palatine and the Capitol. It was destined for the comitia and general assemblies of the people, and for the administration of justice. *Cæsar*, and after him *Augustus* enlarged it, on account of the great number of law-suits and parties. *Augustus* caused it to be covered in summer with a tilt, on account of the heat, which was excessive. This he did for the conveniency of those whose affairs brought them thither, and particularly of the parties. In which, says *Pliny*, he certainly would not have had the approbation of *Cato* the Censor, who would have wished, that to keep them thence, they had strewed it with sharp flints. *Plin. hist. l. 19. c. 1.*

and solicitations, and to second the efforts of his advocates.

WHEN there were none of these great causes, which was seldom the case from the time the Romans were in possession of all the provinces which composed their vast empire, the people were not the less frequent in the squares, and then too to the magistrates whose conduct was not irreproachable. They were the more exposed to scandal, as there was no law to defend them from it ; they spoke their minds freely of the most respectable personages. In those days of liberty, says Tacitus, they punished actions only, and not words *.

TIBERIUS was the first who dared to punish discourses and conversations on matters of state as treasonable. Nothing was looked on as indifferent by this tyrant surrounded by informers, who flattered his suspicions. It was nothing to keep spies over the looser hours of wine ; a re-

* The natural jealousy of tyrants, and the miserable situation of the Roman people, are finely painted by Tacitus, speaking of the accusation of Gracchus Marcellus : *Inevitabile crimen, says he, nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.*

partee, a jest, an unguarded word dropt in the forum, or in feasting, became crimes; they wanted to dive into the inmost thoughts; and a citizen could not be sure of escaping an accusation by the utmost caution in words or actions. Things came to such a pass, that it was a capital crime to have chastised a slave near a statue or a picture of *Augustus*, to have stripped or changed their dress near one of them; to have carried into a necessary house any piece of coin or engraved stone, which represented the image of the prince.

WHEN they had exhausted the news of the town, they went on to those of the provinces; a kind of curiosity not less interesting; since the provinces were not only become the patrimony, so to speak, of the citizens, who, when called to govern them, drew thence immense revenues; but were also the abode of a number of Roman knights, who there carried on a commerce as advantageous to the public, as lucrative to themselves.

HORACE reckons the teasing questions put to him on this subject, in the number of the plagues and perplexities he underwent

went in the town, in lieu of the sweet calm and tranquillity he enjoyed in the country.

*Frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor ;
Quicumque obvius est, me consulit, &c. **

*Shou'd any rumour, without head
Or tail, about the streets be spread,
Whoever meets me gravely nods,
And says, " As you approach the gods,
" It is no mystery to you,
" What do the Dacians mean to do ?"
Indeed I know not — " How you joke,
" And love to sneer at simple folk !"
But vengeance seize this head of mine,
If I have heard, or can divine —
" Then, prithee, where are Caesar's bands
" Allotted their debenture-lands ?"
Altho' I swear, I know no more
Of that, than what was ask'd before ;
They stand amaz'd, and think me then
The most reserv'd of mortal men.
Bewilder'd thus, amidst a maze
I lose the sunshine of my days,
And often wish, Oh ! when again
Shall I behold the rural plain ?*

* Hor. Sat. 1. 2. sat. 6.

*And when with books of sages deep,
Sequester'd ease and gentle sleep,
In sweet oblivion, blissful balm !
The busy cares of life becalm ?*

Fran. Hor.

ALTHOUGH all the citizens in general gave these three hours to the forum, yet there were some of them much more assiduous than others. These were of those loiterers who repaired thither to fill up the void of an idle life. Horace calls them *forenses* ; Plautus and Priscian, *sub-basilicani* ; and Cœlius writing to Cicero, *subrostrani*, or *subrostrarii* ; that is to say, folks attached to the forum, to the bar, the courts of justice, (*basilicæ* *), and the tribunal of harangues, called *rostra*, from the names of the prows or stems of the ships taken from the Antiates, which served to adorn it †.

OTHERS, less idle, employed themselves

* These were afterwards converted into churches. *Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis.* Auson.

† From hence these expressions, *ascendere in rostra*, *descendere de rostris*, *dicere pro rostris*, &c. meaning to mount the tribunal of harangues, to descend from it, to harangue the people, &c.

according

according to their condition, their dignity and designs. Many old senators were accustomed every morning to take several turns in the forum, by way of signal to those who stood in need of their counsel*.

THE Roman knights constituted a bank, and kept a register of treaties and lawful contracts. Candidates for offices solicited votes. Their relations and friends, their clients, even senators of the highest rank, through affection or complaisance for these candidates, accompanied and recommended them to all they met: and because it was a piece of politeness, and a mark of respect amongst the Romans, as amongst the Greeks, to call and salute people by their proper names and fir-

* Towards the latter times of the republic, they fell upon another method; they gave audience in their own houses, seated on a kind of throne, or raised chair, and all who chose were admitted. Such particularly was the custom of the two *Scævola*, and especially of the *Augur*, whose house had no other name than that of *oracle of the city*, *oraculum civitatis*, and was always open from day-break to all the citizens, notwithstanding the age and infirmities of the master.

names,

names, and scarce possible for a candidate to keep so many different names in his head; they had slaves on their left hand, whose business it was to indicate the names of passengers.

ALL the Romans who had any pretensions to honours, kept of these slaves, called *nomenclatores*, in their houses. Their sole occupation was to learn the names of the citizens, their fortune, their rank, and their connections, and to distinguish their persons at first sight, in order to inform their masters by a whisper, and enable them to salute them with an air of acquaintance, to shake hands, and talk familiarly when they met them in the streets.

THAT affability which has its use in all popular governments, was particularly necessary at Rome, where the people having much to bestow, would have their favour eagerly courted; and where elevation of sentiment was so general, that the least citizen thought himself as much superiour to those of other cities, as the Roman republic was to all the states of the world. Thus Horace makes this civility necessary to acquire dignities.

*Si fortunatum species, et gratia præstat ;
Mercemur servum, qui dicet nomina, &c. **

*Well then, if wealth alone our bliss insure,
Our first, our latest toil should wealth secure :
If pride and public pomp the blessing claim,
Let's buy a slave to tell each voter's name,
And give the hint, and through the crouded
street*

To stretch the civil hand to all we meet.

*" The Fabian tribe his interest largely sways ;
" This the Velinian ; there a third, with ease,
" Can give or take the honours of the state,
" The consul's fasces, and the prætor's seat ;
" According to their age adopt them all,
" And brother, father, most facetious call."*

Fran. Hor.

WHEN any magistrate of distinction returned from his province, they thronged out of the city in crouds to meet him ; and they attended him to his house, adorning the avenues to it with verdure and festoons. In like manner, when any magistrate departed for his government, or for the army, or any friend for a foreign country, they escorted him as far as they could ; they set him on his road, and offered vows and prayers, in his presence,

* Hor. Epist. l. 1. ep. 6.

for his successful journey and happy return.

LIVY observes, that PAULUS ÆMILIUS went to take the command of the army against *Hannibal*, accompanied by the first among the Patricians, while the multitude followed *Varro* their idol; and that after the loss of the battle of Cannæ, which he was the cause of, the citizens testified in this conjuncture so much firmness and greatness of soul, that, on his return, all the orders went out to meet him, and returned him solemn thanks, for that he had not despaired of the safety of the state, but was come to resume the helm, and place himself at the head of the laws and of the citizens, as judging them not yet without resource*.

THEY crouded also to meet an illustrious exile when he was recalled. It was in some sort to make reparation for the injustice that had been done him. METELLUS NUMIDICUS, driven from Rome

* Quo in tempore ipso, adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ, quod de republica non desperasset. *Tit. Liv. l. 22. c. 61. sub. fin.*

by the faction of *Marius*, because of his firmness and rectitude, having been recalled from exile, where he lived always equal to himself, when it was known that he was near arriving, the senate, and the people, the rich and the poor, in a word, the whole city, hastened to meet him; insomuch, as an historian says, that no dignity nor triumph ever did him more honour than did the very cause of his exile, the wisdom of his conduct while in it, and, lastly, the glory of his return.

CICERO, banished and proscribed by the intrigues and violence of *Clodius*, but recalled by the concurrence and suffrage of all the different orders, expresses himself in these terms upon his triumphant entry into Rome. "All my route," says he, in one of the harangues which he pronounced in the senate, "all my route from Brundisium to Rome, was lined with a continued file of all the different people of Italy. There was no district, no city, that sent not deputations to congratulate me. What shall I say of the manner of my reception on my arrival at every place? how from the cities and from the villages, fathers of families,

lies,

“ lies, with their wives and their children,
“ either went before me, or appeared on
“ the roads to testify their joy? What
“ shall I say of the festivals that were ce-
“ lebrated on my account, with as much
“ gladness and pomp as those which are
“ consecrated to the honour of the im-
“ mortal gods? But, above all, the day
“ that I re-entred Rome, that day alone is
“ worth to me an immortality! On that
“ day I had the senate and the whole
“ people to receive me without the gates;
“ and Rome herself, shaking from her
“ foundations, seemed to advance to em-
“ brace her preserver. One would have
“ said, that not only the men and the wo-
“ men of all ages, of every rank and con-
“ dition, but the walls themselves, and the
“ temples, entered into transports of joy
“ at my approach.”

ALL this was observed during the re-
public, as under the Cæsars: but in the
latter times, there was introduced amongst
the great, a sort of madness that had had
no example. They did not think them-
selves magnificent enough, if they did not
shew themselves in public with a numer-
ous train of litters, preceded and followed

by slaves, freed men, and clients. That vanity was expensive : they were obliged to pay those who assisted that pomp. Juvenal *, who has described it, affirms, that there were people of quality and magistrates, whom avarice engaged to swell the troop of those worthless courtiers, and to receive certain portions in victuals or money, which the great caused to be distributed at their gates to their clients, and to their courtiers, in the view of augmenting the number of them, and swelling out their train †.

LASTLY,

* ——— Nunc sportula primo

Limine parva sedet, turbæ rapienda togatæ.

Ille tamen faciem prius inspicit, et trepidat, ne

Suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.

Agnitus accipies. jubet a præcone vocari

Ipsos Trojugenas : nam vexant limen et ipsi

Nobiscum. Da prætori, da deinde tribuno.

Sed libertinus prior est. — *Juv. sat. 1. l. 95.*

† They called these portions *sportula*. This word is the diminutive of *sporta*, from the verb *asportare*; one and the other originally signified a wicker basket, or pannier of reeds, or branches of osier, interwoven. They extended it afterwards to signify vases, or measures proper to contain bread, flesh, and other meats, which they distributed on certain occasions; and,

by

LASTLY, came the sixth hour, or mid-day. Every one went home and dined slightly, according to the regimen universally observed at Rome, and which is still preserved there at this day.

C H A P. II.

Of the occupations of the afternoon. Of the play of tennis. Of walks. Of galleries and porticoes. Of the occupations and conversations there. Of public and private libraries. Of exercises. Of the aqueducts and baths.

I Have divided the day into twelve hours, conformably to the custom established amongst the Romans. I have followed the citizen from the morning to mid-day, to the temples, the palaces of the great, the forum, &c. and into all the places where religion, ambition, interest,

by metonymy, the distributions I have mentioned above. In time, they employed it to signify every kind of public feast, where all were invited without distinction, and where each received his portion in a basket. At length, the word *sportula* was applied to all sorts of presents and distributions, of what nature soever they were.

civility, the connections of blood and of friendship, called him. I am going at present to accompany him where-ever the care of his health, and the love of allowable pleasure, will conduct him.

THOSE who directed the principal actions of their life to the good of their country, or of their family, regarded the six first hours of the day as a time devoted to labour, and took no pleasures till the time of business was past. The men attended to the business without doors, the women to the domestic affairs. Thus they lent each other mutual assistance, labouring in concert for the good of their family, and for their common interest.

AND though it was a custom to give all the afternoon to pleasure, as all the forenoon to business; yet laborious persons did not always make so equal a division; they pushed their working time much beyond the ordinary bounds, and often even to the tenth hour of the day: but these were rare characters, and fitter to give good examples, than to follow bad customs. These were people whose life is a perpetual censure of that of others;

true

true magistrates, who had devoted themselves to the care of the public welfare; zealous orators, who thought themselves responsible for the preservation of the unhappy, whose defence they had undertaken.

SUCH was an ASSINIUS POLLIO, whom Horace calls the firmest support of accused innocence, and the oracle of the senate; and who was, says Seneca, so regular in the distribution of his time, that he wrought always till the tenth hour, that is, till four in the afternoon: but, that hour once past, he would not even open a letter, from whence soever it came, for fear of finding something in it which should give him more work than he had prescribed himself for that day, or that might trouble the repose to which he destined the rest of it.

To consider only the ordinary life of a citizen, it appears, that the greatest number employed the morning in the temples, the palaces of the great, in the forum, at the bar, and in soliciting their affairs; and that they destined the rest of the day to visits and assemblies, to the walks and baths, to feasting and pleasures,

tures, to the care of health and exercises, amongst others, to that of the hand-ball and tennis.

THE Romans had taken that exercise from the Greeks, to wit, the great and little ball, *follis et folliculus*. They drove the first with the hand, armed with a sort of gauntlet, and the other with the fist; whence it received the name of *follis pugillaris*, or *pugillatorius*. It was so light, that the least robust could manage it. The ball, called *pila trigonalis*, not from its figure, for it was round, but from the number of players, who placed in a triangle, tossed it from one to the other. The village-ball, *pila paganica* *. This last was fatiguing and difficult on account of the hardness and bulk of the balls.

LASTLY, the *harpastum*, so called from the verb ἀρπάζω, *rapio*, to *snatch*; because they snatched the ball from each other. To play at this, they divided themselves into two troops, which were placed at equal distances from a line drawn in the

* This was probably the same as the foot ball of the English peasants.

middle of the spot, and on which they placed the ball. Behind each troop was drawn another line, which marked on either side the limits of the game, and from whence the players on each side ran towards that in the middle, to seize the ball, and send it beyond the line which bounded the ground of their antagonists*.

SUETONIUS, in the life of Augustus, reckons the play of the little ball and the tennis-ball in the number of the amusements of that prince. Valerius Maximus † relates, that the famous lawyer SCÆVOLA took the exercise of tennis to unbend himself after the fatigues and la-

* The balls made use of in these games, were made of several pieces of leather or stuff sewed together like a bag: they filled them more or less with feathers, wool, bran, fig-seeds, or sand, &c. according to the size they wanted them, and as they would have them more or less hard, heavy, or light. They drove them commonly with the hand; sometimes they armed their fists with thongs, which making many folds, formed a kind of gauntlet, which served the ancients instead of battledores and rackets.

† Lib. 8. c. 8.

bours

bours of the bar. Plutarch * observes, that the very day that *Cato Uticensis* failed of the post of consul, he went to play at tennis, and then walked according to his custom in the forum. Whereas, the day that a candidate had missed an office, was commonly a day of mourning for him, for his relations, his family, and his friends.

YET all the Romans did not make it a rule to play at tennis or at the hand-ball. Horace † being on a journey with Mæcenas, Virgil, and some other persons of the court of *Augustus*, Mæcenas went to play at tennis, while Virgil and Horace, whose constitutions were little adapted for violent exercise, chose to go to sleep.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS amused himself with dancing ; not, says Seneca, in those effeminate dances which shew the corruption of manners ; but in those masculine sprightly dances, which were in use amongst the ancients, and which their enemies themselves might have seen, without

* Plut. in Cat. Min.

† Hor. Sat. l. i. sat. 5.

abating any thing of the esteem and veneration they had conceived for their virtues *. The greatest number took the air on foot, in a carriage, or in a litter; two sorts of airings, of which the one was called *ambulatio*, the other *gestatio*.

IN the early times, the Romans took the exercise of walking in places which nature seemed to have formed on purpose for those who followed her innocent laws. The murmurs of a gentle brook, the refreshing coolness of a grove, a flowery lawn presented by chance, were to them instead of those splendid buildings which the luxury of succeeding ages invented for the same purposes. This people, originally so poor and simple, became so delicate and so nice, that they could no longer enjoy the pleasures of repose or of walking, unless enhanced by great ex-

* Scipio triumphale illud et militare corpus movit ad numeros. non molliter se infringens, ut nunc mos est, etiam incessu ipso ultra muliebre[m] mollitiem fluentibus; sed ut illi antiqui viri solebant, inter lusum ac festa tempora, virilem in modum tripudiare, non facturi detrimentum, etiam si ab hostibus suis spectarentur

*L. An. Senec. de tranq. an. c. 15.
pense.*

pense. They would no longer allow their pleasures to depend upon the temperature of the air. It was not reasonable, according to them, to wait for fair weather to take the air, nor to expose their equipages to the inconveniencies of rain and of dirt. They had recourse to art, and made themselves covered walks and long galleries of equal neatness and magnificence.

THESE galleries were supported by columns of marble, inlaid and overcast also with marble, with superb arches; they were adorned with statues and pictures, and all the most beautiful works of art; particularly from the time that the taste and passion for all master-pieces in them was introduced at Rome, and that the great and rich made a practice of stripping cities and whole provinces of all they could find of them.

DURING the first five ages, and some time beyond them, Rome abounding in arms, and the bloody spoils of the Barbarians, crowned with triumphal monuments and trophies, presented to the eye a martial spectacle, becoming a warlike and a conquering nation. She was unacquainted with the works of art till after *Marcellus*,

Chap. II. *of the* ROMANS. 61

cellus, Scipio, Paulus Æmilius, Mummius, &c. had exposed to her eyes all that was found most excellent in this kind in Syracuse, in Asia, in Macedon, and in Corinth.

THIS spectacle soon inspired the Romans with a taste for all these vain ornaments; and to satisfy it, they stuck at no sort of rapine and violence. “The statues
“and pictures which *Marcellus* transported
“from Syracuse to Rome,” says Livy *,
“were indeed the spoils of conquered
“enemies, acquired by the right of war;
“yet from thence we are to date that audacious cupidity which led the Romans
“to pillage without distinction, and without scruple, in the provinces, the
“temples of the gods, and the houses of
“private men, to possess themselves of

* — Ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque, quibus abundabant Syracusæ, Romam devexit. Hostium quidem illa spolia, et parta belli jure: ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque huic sacra profanaque omnia vulgo spectandi, factum est, quæ postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum, quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, vertit.

Tit. Liv. l. 25. c. 40.

F

“those

“ those masterpieces of the Greeks, which
 “ till then had been neither esteemed nor
 “ known; and, lastly, to exercise their
 “ sacrilegious thefts even upon the temples
 “ of Rome; upon those very temples
 “ which *Marcellus* had so magnificently
 “ adorned, and which formerly attracted
 “ the curiosity of strangers.”

THE least criminal method they fell upon, was to buy at a low price, things beyond all price. The government of the conquered countries offered them frequent occasions. While the manners remained yet uncorrupted, governours were not allowed to purchase any thing from the people whom the senate submitted to them: but when these were changed, some openly carried off every thing, without even mentioning payment; others, more wary in their steps, borrowed, under plausible pretexts, from the cities and private persons, whatever they were possessed of most precious; and if some thought fit to make restitution, most part appropriated them by force and violence.

WE can scarce believe what *Cicero* relates of the horrible excesses which *Verres* committed

committed while he was Prætor in Sicily. He carried off marbles, bronze statues, pictures, and all the works of art of whatever value or kind they were. He stripped cities, temples, and private houses. Most of the other governours were little inferiour to him in this kind of robbery. It was, who should pillage the most openly, and who should with most magnificence adorn their town and country houses. Their galleries were filled with all of this kind that was most excellent.

VITRUVIUS and Columella lay down the method of constructing and disposing these galleries, to make them fit for all seasons. The sides were pierced with many windows, closed with a transparent stone *. In winter they opened them to the south to let in the sun, and in summer to the north to admit the cool air.

THE great had these galleries round their houses; many of them also even in the

* The learned are divided about this transparent stone, *lapis specularis*. Some maintain that it was the same which the Greeks called *χίσος*; others, the *ἀργυροδίμας* of the ancients; some, that it was the stone *σιλινιτης*. SALMASIUS maintains that the *lapis specularis*

the country. They made a part of their gardens, which inclosed within their bounds sheets of water, and fish-ponds, fields, meadows, orchards, alleys, parterres, groves, and woods. There is frequent mention of the gardens of *Lucullus*, of *Cæsar*, &c. Tacitus says, that Nero laid open his gardens to the people, in order to shelter the wretches whose houses he had burnt for a representation of the conflagration of Troy.

specularis and the *φειρίτης* are the same thing *. *M. de Valois* inclines to think, that it was only what is called *talc* in Germany and in France : not that common talc which is found in most quarries, but that white transparent talc which is still found at this day in Muscovy. The principal use of the *lapis specularis*, amongst the Romans, was for their windows. Seneca mentions it as a thing established of old. They also employed it in making the glasses for the covered litters of the Roman ladies. As to glass-windows, they were in use in the fifth century, since St Jerom speaks of them ; but they were rare. It was still a luxury in the 13th and 14th century. This art, carried into England by the French, about the year 1180, was looked upon as a piece of great magnificence.

* Pliny speaks of the *φειρίτης* thus. *Nerone principe in Cappadocia repertus est lapis duritia marmoris, candidus atque translucent, etiam qua parte fulvæ inciderant venæ, ex argumento Phenices appellatus.* Plin. nat. hist. l. 36. c. 22.

HORACE declaims against that building-madness which in his time was likely to fill Italy with these sorts of castles; and, by way of contrast, opposes the examples not only of Romulus, but also of Cato, and of those other founders of the Roman greatness, who sought no other places for repose or for walking, but the first verdure that nature presented: and if they had any fine block of marble, they employed it rather in embellishing the temples of the gods, the public buildings and squares, than in making vast galleries for their own private use *.

THE YOUNGER PLINY makes a descrip-

* Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ
Moles relinquent; —————
————— Non ita Romuli
Præscriptum, et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque norma.
Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton:
Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumtu jubentes, et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

Hor. Carm. l. 2. ed. 15.

tion of his country-houses and galleries, which is admired at this day. Nero had embellished his palace with porticoes three thousand paces in length, which were thence called *porticus milliariæ*. Cicero had built in his house at *Tusculum* halls and galleries, in imitation of the schools and porticoes of Athens. Adorned with the finest statues and best paintings of Greece, he gave them the names of *gymnasia* and of *academies*; and their use was the same, for his philosophical conferences with his learned friends.

It was commonly in these galleries that they passed the first hours after dinner, alone, or in company with their friends; each employed himself there according to his taste and character.

“OUR conversations,” says Cicero,
 “turn commonly upon our own affairs,
 “or those of the public, or upon some
 “point of erudition; and, when they
 “wander from these subjects, care must
 “be taken to bring them back; but,
 “as every one has not the same taste, at-
 “tention should be given how far con-
 “versation may be carried without wea-
 “riness;

“riness; far from ingrossing it, every
“one must have his turn.

“CARE too should be taken, that grave
“matters be seriously spoken of, and rail-
“lery confined to subjects where it may
“be admitted: but, above all, we should
“be cautious never to let any thing e-
“scape that denotes any vice in the man-
“ners; and nothing can be a plainer
“mark of such vice, than falling upon
“the absent with slander and invective,
“and taking pleasure to turn them into
“ridicule. Our discourses must also be
“exempt from passion, and neither an-
“ger, envy, sloth, nor effeminacy, suffer-
“ed to appear amongst us. They should
“be even always accompanied with
“marks of friendship and deference for
“those who speak to us. In a word, no-
“thing is more unbecoming than boast-
“ing and self-praise; especially when it
“is supported by untruths; for that is to
“expose one’s self to the raillery and con-
“tempt of all mankind *.”

SUCH were the maxims of conversation
generally followed by wise and virtuous per-

* Cic. de offic. l. 1. c. 37. 38.

sons. They not only avoided saying any thing inconsistent with decorum and purity of manners, any thing that could give offence ; but even in their gay and sportive conversations they never transgressed the laws of decency and good manners: the men always attentive to the regard that is due to the modesty of the sex ; the women also respecting it ; good-nature and delicacy refined, as prudence and wisdom regulated their discourse.

THE old men, in company with young people ; fathers and mothers, in presence of their children, were so reserved and circumspect, as never to start a subject which could raise any false prejudice in their minds, or kindle any unlawful passion in their hearts. Persuaded that children let nothing escape which can give them a handle to imitate, or authority to despise those who give them ill examples, they respected their presence, that their commands might be respected.

Not but that puns and quibbles, loose and indecent discourse, flattery, scandal, and calumny, were already but too often the subject of many conversations, which often degenerated into contests and abuse ;
but

but this licentiousness had place only amongst mean souls, abandoned to the impetuosity of their passions, amongst those wicked and dangerous characters which Horace thus paints :

— *absentem qui rodit amicum ;
Qui non defendit alio culpante, &c **

*He who malignant tears an absent friend,
Or, when attack'd by others, don't defend ;
Who trivial bursts of laughter strives to raise,
And courts of prating petulance the praise ;
Of things he never saw who tells his tale,
And friendship's secrets knows not to conceal,
This man is vile ; here, Roman, fix your mark,
His soul is black as his complexion dark.*

Franc. Hor.

BESIDES conversation, play, and other customary diversions, they exercised themselves in these galleries, in walking on foot, or being carried in litters, or sedans, or carriages. When the ladies met in them, they formed circles and conversations amongst themselves, or else joined those of the men, and partook in their amusements ; and all spent their time there in business or in pastimes, as best suited their particular tastes,

* Hor. Sat. 1. 1 sat. 4.

CRINGING poets took advantage of the abundant leisure of these places to utter the fruits of their muses; which gave occasion to Juvenal to say, that the alleys and galleries of Fronto ought to know and repeat like the echo, the fables of Æolus, Æacus, Jason, the Cyclops, and all other hackneyed subjects of poetry *.

MEN of letters employed themselves in reading, or in conferring on some point of literature. Well-stored libraries within reach of these galleries, supplied all necessary help. The great, who protected talents, arts, and sciences, and cultivated them themselves, took care to form numerous libraries, which they opened to the curious and the learned.

THEY were filled with books, by so much the more precious, as their acquisition was difficult in times when printing had not yet rendered them common. They were wrote upon leaves of a kind of paper made of the thin skins of a plant called *papyrus*, which grows in Egypt; or

* Frontonis platani, convulsaque marmora clament

Semper, et assiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.

Juv. sat. 1. l. 12.

upon

upon parchment, called *charta Pergamena*, because it was at Pergamus that the art of dressing it was invented *. They pasted these leaves together, end to end, and made a roll of them, which they covered with leather or silk; they shut up this roll with clasps, which held by the cover, on which was written the title of the book. Slaves who had learning, were charged with this care; others served for library-keepers. They called the first *librarii*, and the last, a *bibliothecis*. This way of rolling up books gave them the name of *volume*, which remains to ours.

LUCULLUS favouring letters, and curious of books, amassed a great number

* The invention of paper made of rags, pounded and boiled, belongs to the 14th century. *Cor-tusius*, an historian of Padua, speaks of one Pax, who established a manufacture of it at Padua, more than an age before the invention of printing. This last, we know, took birth at Mayence, about the middle of the 15th century. It is attributed to three citizens of that city, *Joannes Guttenberg*, *Joannes Faustus*, and *Peter Opilion*, or *Schæffer*, the son-in-law of this last. M. SCHOEPPFLIN, in his dissertation upon printing, pretends, on the contrary, that *Guttenberg* made the first trials of it in the city of Strasburg, about the year 1440; and that ten years afterwards, he carried his art to Mayence.

of

of them, and spared nothing to procure the best copies. The use which he made of his library, was still more commendable than the care he took to form it. The halls were the books where repositied, the gardens to which they answered, the closets for study, were open to all the world. The Greeks who were at Rome, repaired thither as to the palace of the muses : often *Lucullus* himself came to converse with them on some matter of literature. He protected them, admitted them to his table, and assisted them in their affairs ; insomuch, adds Plutarch *, that his house was the asylum and the Prytaneum of all the Greeks at Rome †.

What I have here said regards only the galleries and libraries of private people. There were also public ones. The love of letters had led *Cæsar* to employ the learned *Varro* in amassing numerous libraries of Greek and Latin authors, which he destined for the use of the public ; but a too

* In vit. Lucull.

† The Prytaneum was the place at Athens where the magistrates distributed justice, and maintained, at the public expense, those who had rendered services to the state.

sudden death, adds Suetonius *, brought to nothing the execution of that design, as well as all the vast projects which this master of the empire revolved in his mind.

THE first public library which was seen at Rome, was that which *Afinius Pollio* † established in the temple of Liberty upon Mount Aventine. He placed there the statues of the most learned men of antiquity. *Varro* was the only one of the living, out of the great number that flourished at Rome, to whom he did that honour ; a distinction, according to *Pliny* ‡,

* In vit. Cæs. c. 44.

† *Asinii Pollionis* hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rempublicam fecit. An priores cœperint Alexandriæ et Pergami reges qui bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 35. c. 2.*

‡ *Varronis* in bibliotheca, quæ prima in orbe ab *Afinio Pollione* ex manubiis publicata Romæ est, unius viventis posita imago est : haud minore (ut equidem reor) gloria, principe oratore et cive, ex illa ingeniorum, quæ tunc fuit multitudine, uni hanc coronam dante, quam cum eidem magnus *Pompeius* piratico ex bello navalem dedit. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 7. c. 30.*

more glorious for *Varro* than the naval crown which he received from *Pompey* in the war against the pirates. *Pollio*, we know, lived under *Augustus*: he had merited the honour of a triumph; but what justly places him in the rank of illustrious men, is the variety of talents which he possessed: orator, poet, historian; he excelled in all these characters; and the honour, which was his, of being the first who consecrated to learning a public library at Rome, animated the emperors themselves to follow his example.

THEY usually placed these libraries adjoining to temples, and surrounded them with porticoes for the use and convenience of the public: vast and superb, they were destined not merely for a receptacle of numerous collections of books, but they were also places for assembling the learned, where their conferences nourished emulation, and strengthened the taste for letters.

AUGUSTUS had made an academy of the library, which he joined to the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, where the judges examined new poetical works; and those which appeared worthy to be transmitted to posterity, were placed in the library,
with

with the portrait of the author; a powerful encouragement of the arts, for those especially who are animated by glory, and led to perfection by the love of fame.

Augustus cherished the arts, as all great princes have ever done; he cultivated them himself, and his protection was constantly granted, and his favour extended to those who distinguished themselves in them. We know how they flourished in his time, which is become the epocha, and the standard of good taste.

THERE were then three public libraries at Rome; and their number was soon augmented. It arose to twenty-nine. *Vespasian* placed one in the temple of Peace. *Domitian* re-established those which the fire had consumed. He collected copies from all parts, and sent able transcribers to Alexandria, to take copies of all the books he had not, and render more correct those he had.

Of all these libraries, the most considerable was the *Palatine*, and the *Ulpian*; one so called from Mount Palatine, where *Augustus* had placed it; and the other from the name of its founder the Emperor *U-*

pius Trajan, which *Dioclesian* caused to be transported into the baths which he built.

THE galleries, which served for public walks, were porticoes adjoining to the temples, to the theatres, the courts of justice, (*basilicæ*), &c. raised upon square columns. They had open piazzas which afforded shelter in every kind of weather, and had different exposures according to the season. Sometimes the senate and the tribunals assembled beneath these porticoes, to administer justice, to ratify contracts and public acts, to give audience to ambassadors, &c. Sometimes merchants there exposed to sale, statues, pictures, vases, and other rich merchandise.

THESE porticoes multiplied under the emperors, most of them emulously striving to surpass each other in this kind of magnificence. Besides the columns of porphyry which *Augustus* raised round the temple of Apollo, there were the statues of the fifty Danaides, and many paintings of the most excellent masters. To that of Octavia, they had annexed the standards and other military *insignia*, which the Dalmatians had formerly taken from the army
of

of Domitius, and which had been newly retaken.

AGRIPPA had caused to be painted in that which he consecrated to Neptune, the whole history of the Argonauts, in acknowledgment for his naval victories. The portico of Catulus, in the times of the republic, was decked with the spoils of the Cimbri. Those of Livia, of Nero, and of his successors, had all the beauties and all the rarities capable of attracting spectators, and heightening the pleasures of the walk *. For the young people, and those who still enjoyed strength and vigour, instead of gentle walking, they either played at tennis, or exercised themselves in the *Campus Martius*, in all that could render them active, and form them to the trade of war. They mounted the

* The Romans had also grottoes built in form of galleries, vaulted for coolness. The younger Pliny, who had of them in his country-houses, calls them *subterranea porticus, et crypto-porticus*, epist. l. 5. 6. 30. These grottoes served the faithful for retreats during the rage of persecution. The martyrologists say, that St *Laurence*, who suffered martyrdom under *Valerian*, carried food, and distributed the money of the church to the Christians who were hid in the grotto of *Nepotian*.

horse, darted the lance, drew the bow, hurled the quoit, &c.; and that there might be no relaxation in these games, which passed for the best school of the Roman youth, they had separate places for each exercise; they called them *AREÆ*, or *AREOLÆ*; and all was carried on under the eyes of persons, whose presence alone excited emulation.

I SHALL say nothing here of the other parts of the Roman gymnastics. I shall only observe, that the whole concluded about the eighth or ninth hour, that is, about three in the afternoon; and then every one repaired in haste to the public or private baths. It was natural that there should be more liberty in the private baths, where each was left to his own fancy: but, for the public baths, they were opened by the ringing of a bell always at the same hour; and those who came too late, ran the risk of bathing in cold water.

Redde pilam: sonat æs thermarum: ludere pergis?

Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum.*

* Mart. l. 14. ep. 152.

says Martial, that is, "Quit the ball. "The bell rings for the baths. Do you "continue to play? You want then to "return home, bathed only in the cold "waters of the fountain Virgo*."

IN northern countries, and even in Italy, for many ages past, they are not by a great deal so regular in bathing. The use of linen, and of shoes and stockings, has rendered that of the bath much less necessary: but, amongst the Romans, the little trouble it cost them, the pleasure and advantage they found in it, and the great leisure they enjoyed towards the end of the republic, and under the first Cæsars, engaged every citizen, of whatever rank, to be assiduous at the baths. They seldom abstained from them, if not from laziness or negligence, unless they were obliged by public or private mourning, when custom had made it a law to do so.

* The fountains at Rome had particular names, as they have still. This one was called *Aqua Virgo*, *Virgin-water*, according to some, on account of its unsullied clearness; and according to others, because a young woman had shewn this spring by chance to soldiers who sought water. *Agrippa* brought this water to Rome in the year 737.

Hence

Hence the words *squalor* and *fordes*, squalidness, are often used for mourning in good authors *.

IN the ancient times of the republic, when most of the citizens lived in the country, and their labour was interrupted only by some festival days, returning at night from their work, they took care to wash their arms and legs; and every nine days when they came to the city to assist at the fairs, and assemblies, held for affairs of government, they bathed their whole bodies. They consulted then no other rules than those of necessity or pleasure, and sought no other ceremony or apparatus than the choice of fresh and pure water. The Tiber, and their neighbouring rivers, with the other reservoirs that nature offered them, were the most common baths.

It was her, who, by producing in divers places, springs of hot, and even of boiling water, taught men in all probability to give different degrees of heat to their baths. They invented many kinds of bathing vessels for that effect; the uti-

* *Mœror, luctus, fordes. Cic.*

lity of which appeared so great, that not only private persons procured themselves that household conveniency, but princes and magistrates took care to provide hot and cold baths for the use of the public: an usage, which, like many others, came from the east into Greece, and from thence into Italy.

DION relates, in the life of *Augustus*, that *Mecenas* was the first who established the hot baths at Rome; not but there were already public baths. *Cicero* mentions them in his oration for *M. Calius*; but it appears that they were only of cold water, few in number, and little ornamented. However that may be, the Romans did not begin early to establish baths. Whether they feared by that means to introduce luxury and effeminacy, or whether it was the difficulty of bringing water into the different quarters of a city, almost all built upon hills.

It was not till the year of Rome 441, that they brought water thither for the first time, by means of an aqueduct, built under the direction of the Censor *Appius Claudius*, from whom that water was called *Aqua Appia*. Its source was eight miles

miles from Rome, in the territory of *Tusculum*, now *Frescati*. Till that time, the Romans were contented with the water they drew from the Tiber, and from wells, from the fountains in the city, and those they found in the neighbourhood.

THE number of aqueducts increased afterwards. *Agrippa*, while he was *Ædile* under *Augustus*, not only re-established the ancient aqueducts, which had fallen to decay, but built also a new one, to which he gave the name of *Aqua Julia*; it was fifteen miles in extent. To facilitate the use of the waters which he brought to the city, he made seven hundred basins, an hundred and five fountains, one hundred and thirty reservoirs; and all these works were adorned with columns and statues; a destination much more suitable, says Pliny, for those masterpieces of art, than being inclosed in the gardens and country-houses of private people*.

THESE

* *Agrippa vero in ædilitate sua, adjecta Virgine aqua, ceteris corrivatis atque emendatis, lacus septingentes fecit: præterea salientes centum quinque, castella centum triginta, complura etiam cultu magnifica: operibus iis signa trecenta ærea aut marmorea*

THESE aqueducts were built of brick, running under ground, or raised upon arches. They brought the water to Rome in pipes of cast metal, or lead, from the distance of thirty, forty, and sixty miles, or more. These waters were collected in reservoirs called *castella*, and thence distributed throughout the city. Pliny speaks of them as the wonder of Rome, and of the whole world. "If we consider," says he, "the incredible quantity of water that they have brought to Rome, for the use of the public, for fountains, baths, fish-ponds, for the use of private houses, for gardens, and country-houses; if we figure to ourselves the arches, built at prodigious expense, and carried on for a great length of road, rocks pierced, mountains cut through, and valleys filled up, we shall own that nothing more wonderful has been seen in the world*."

WORKS

morea imposuit, columnas ex marmore quadringentas, eaque omnia annuo spatio. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 36. c. 15.*

* *Quod si quis diligentius aestimaverit aquarum abundantiam in publico, balneis, piscinis, domibus, euripis,*

WORKS of this importance and utility deserved the attention and care of the government. *Augustus* established an overseer of aqueducts and fountains, who presided

ripis, hortis, suburbanis, villis, spatioque advenientis extructos arcus, montes perpassos, convalles æquatas, fatebitur nihil magis mirandum fuisse in toto orbe terrarum. Plin. hist. nat. l. 36. c. 15.

These aqueducts have been often mentioned as instances of the great superiority of the ancients in works of art. That the reader may compare a modern work of this kind, with the aqueducts of Pliny, we shall lay before him a short account of the canal of Languedoc, as given by the President de Goguet.

The canal of Languedoc, from its entrance in the port of Cette to Tholouse, is more than 70 leagues in length, and 30 feet in breadth. They were often obliged to make angles, and wind it round the mountains, to preserve the level, to fix it upon piles in boggy grounds; to sustain it upon bridges or stone arches in the valleys; to hew down, or lower certain mountains; in fine, to pierce through others, and vault them to receive this canal. They dug out above two millions of cubic fathoms of earth, and more than five thousand of rock. One hundred and fourteen sluices were constructed for barks to go up and down; sixteen enormous dykes to repel the torrent; twenty-four drains to let off the waters of the canal, when it is in danger of filling up with mud

or

sided over all that concerned the bringing water to the city. It was the celebrated orator *Messala*, and under him magistrates and officers, each having his respective rights and functions. From that time, the employment was always filled by men of the first rank.

NERVA gave it to *Frontinus*. He had been prætor in the reign of *Vespasian*. That emperor sent him to command in Britain, and Tacitus extols his exploits in that province. He was a man of solid understanding, and sound judgment, diligent in his duties, and who loved to join to experience, the assistance of study and reading. To this turn of mind, so worthy of imitation, we owe his works; the chief of which are a collection of stratagems, and of memoirs upon the aqueducts of Rome. He explains himself in a short preface which he has placed at the head of this last treatise. "Having been "charged," says he, "by the Emperor "*Nerva*, with the superintendence of the

or sand. In this work, are reckoned upwards of forty thousand cubic fathoms of mason-work. *Origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences, part 3. l. 2. c. 1.*

H

" aqueducts,

“ aqueducts, I thought it ought to be my
 “ first care to instruct myself in the duties
 “ of my office ; for in every administra-
 “ tion we ought to establish an exact
 “ knowledge of what is necessary to do,
 “ and what to avoid, as the foundation of
 “ our conduct. In effect, what is more
 “ shameful and intolerable for a man of
 “ sense, than to be guided in his duty by
 “ the lessons of subalterns ! Their offices
 “ are necessary, but they ought only to
 “ be employed as aids and instruments
 “ under the direction of a chief.”

As soon as they had aqueducts at
 Rome, they were not long of establishing
 baths, and thermæ, or bagnios ; but they
 still favoured of the ancient simplicity, as
 we may judge by the description that Se-
 neca * makes of the baths of Scipio Afri-
 canus, near *Linternum*, in Campania. “ I
 “ have great pleasure,” says he, in a letter
 which he dates from that place, “ in
 “ comparing the manners of Scipio with
 “ ours. This great man, the terrour of
 “ Carthage, the honour and support of
 “ Rome, after having cultivated his field

* Senec. ep. 18.

“ with his own hands, went to bathe in
 “ this obscure corner ; dwelt beneath this
 “ humble roof ; contented himself with a
 “ hall, thus coarsely paved. Who is there
 “ now a-days that would be contented
 “ with such mediocrity ? Who does not
 “ think himself meanly lodged, if riches
 “ and magnificence are not displayed even
 “ in his baths ?”

NOTHING contributed so much to the
 perfection and increase of these buildings,
 as the custom they fell into of joining
 them to the *gymnasia* and *palaestrae* *, where
 the

* These were public edifices, designed for bodily
 exercises, called *gymnasium*, from the word γυμνός;
nudus, because of the nakedness of the athletes, who
 wore nothing but drawers ; and *palaestra*, from the
 word πάλη, *wrestling*. The *gymnastic games*, *ludi*
gymnici, were, among others, racing and wrestling,
 leaping, and throwing the quoit, and boxing ; all
 which the Greeks called collectively πεντάθλον, and
 the Romans *quinqvertium*.

In the race of chariots, drawn by horses or mules ;
 and in the horse-race, where the rider sometimes on-
 ly managed the horse he mounted ; sometimes led
 a second, leaping from one to the other, he, who
 having several times turned the goal, came first to
 the starting-place, gained the prize, or crown. In
 the foot-race, where they sometimes contended

the concourse of the people for the exercises made the baths indispensably necessary, as well as the frequent use made of them by physicians in many distempers : but it was not till under the reign of Augustus, that the Romans began to give them that air of grandeur and magnificence that we still remark with astonishment in the ruins that remain of them.

completely armed, it was he who first arrived at the goal.

The prize of leaping was given to him who cleared the greatest space of ground at one leap. The use of it was to teach the soldiers to leap over ditches, eminences, &c.

The discus, or quoit, was either of wood, stone, metal, &c. in the shape of a buckler, and of a smooth polished surface. He who drove his quoit to the greatest distance, gained the prize ; and each throw was marked by setting up a stake. The wrestling and boxing were a sort of combat between man and man, almost naked. In the one, each endeavoured, by force and address, to cast his antagonist. The others dealt blows, with their fists, armed with gauntlets, called *cesti*, and that with so much violence, that they seldom escaped contusions, broken jaw-bones, black eyes, &c. and sometimes they died upon the spot. The athletes, especially in the foot-race, the wrestling, and the boxing, rubbed their bodies with oil to augment their strength and agility.

THE

THE enormous extent of these edifices made Ammianus Marcellinus compare them to provinces ; *potius provinciarum instar, quam ullius ædificii forma*. And we will not be surpris'd at it, when we know, that they inclos'd within their bounds a prodigious number of apartments ; long galleries ; porticoes, where the athletes exercis'd ; ponds of running water ; alleys, some open, some planted with trees ; terrasses, gardens, and woods.

THE most considerable were the baths of *Agrippa*, built of brick, and enamell'd : those of *Nero*, into which he brought seawater, and the sulphureous waters of the fountain of *Albula*, now the *baths of Tivoli* : those of *Caracalla*, adorned with two hundred columns, and furnish'd with sixteen hundred marble seats : the thermæ of *Dioclesian*, which surpass'd all the others in sumptuousness and grandeur, and which are remaining more entire than any, serving at this day for a convent for the *Chartreux*, under the name of *Santa Maria d'Angeli*. Baronius says, that *Dioclesian* employed in building these thermæ forty thousand Christian slaves, after having

degraded them with ignominy, and whom he massacred when the work was done*.

THE first thing that presented itself in these baths, was a great bason, called *natio* and *piscina*, which took up all the north side; in which they could not only bathe, but even swim very commodiously. Sometimes these great basons were to be met with in the baths of private persons, as in those of *Cicero* and the *younger Pliny*. The rich and the great had baths at home, and often very superb, commonly placed near the dining-room; because it was the custom to bathe before the repast, and even to offer it to friends and strangers who were invited.

THE edifices of the baths in the *thermæ* were commonly exposed to the south, and had a very extensive front: the middle part was occupied by the stove-room, or by a great furnace of mason-work, called *hypocaustum*, which had to the right and left an apartment of four rooms, uniform on both sides, and disposed so as they could easily pass from one to the other. These rooms, called in general *balnearia*,

* *Annal.* 1. 2.

were the stove, the hot bath, the cold bath, and the steam bath.

THESE baths formed so many vast and superb halls. That of the hot bath was as large again as the others, because of the great concourse of people who frequented it, and the long stay they made in it. The roofs of these halls were supported by pillars of marble, the pavement was mosaic. The walls, lined also with marble, were embellished with master-pieces of painting and sculpture: the galleries, the porticoes, the apartments which served for the wardrobe. Those for rubbing and perfuming; even the places where they kept the oils and perfumes, were equally adorned. Statues, pictures, and the precious metals, were lavished in these sumptuous edifices.

THE vessels and utensils were answerable to that magnificence. The baths were of marble, oriental granite, and porphyry; some were fixed, some moveable. Amongst these last there were some made on purpose to be suspended, in which they joined the pleasure of bathing to that of being balanced, and, as it were, rocked by an easy motion. One named

G. Sergius Orata, contemporary with *L. Crassus* the orator, was the first who made use of them *.

There were slaves of both sexes appointed to the service of the public baths, under the name of *balnearii servi*, and distinguished among themselves according to their different offices. Some heated the baths, others kept the cloaths of those who bathed, a third set rubbed them with oil; and all together were under the inspection of certain officers, who were charged with the government of the baths, and exercised it according to the laws which the authority of the magistrates or custom had established, relating to decency, order, and public safety; to the times, hours, and price of bathing.

THE principal rule observed in the baths, was at first not to open them before two or three in the afternoon, and afterwards, neither before sun-rise, nor after sun-set. *Alexander Severus* was the first who permitted the use of the public baths during the night, in the great heats of summer. He even added liberality to

* *Valer. Max.* 9. 1. — *Plin. hist. nat.* l. 9. c. 54.
that

that indulgence, and furnished oil for the lamps at his own expense. Before that, the usual hour was the eighth and ninth hour of the day, and none but the sick and the infirm were allowed to anticipate that hour. It was indicated by a sort of bell, which called the athletes, and all who used the hot baths; for, after that hour, they were obliged to take up with cold water.

THERE were considerable revenues destined to maintain the public baths; what they paid for going in was such a trifle that it did not amount to more than the fourth part of an *as* *. There was no sort of constraint on account of rank or quality; all sorts of persons were admitted, and even *gratis*, at the baths which the emperors maintained at their own expense; a largess which they gave the people on occasion of any public rejoicing, called *balneum gratuitum*. Often even these masters of the world bathed indiscriminately with their subjects. *Titus* admitted the common people to bathe with

* The value of the *as* was not above three farthings.

him in the *thermæ* which he had built. *Alexander Severus* mingled with the populace in the public baths. He went there distinguished only by a purple robe.

IN the first establishment of public baths at Rome, there were some for the women, and others for the men. They did not even think it decent for a father to bathe with his sons who had attained the age of puberty, nor with his sons-in-law. *Plutarch* *, saying that *Cato* the Censor never bathed with his sons, adds, that it was a custom generally received, and that even sons-in-law did not bathe with their wives fathers.

BUT these rules of decency were soon neglected, and promiscuous bathing introduced. The emperors made several regulations to forbid it. *Adrian* ordered separate baths for each sex. *Marcus Aurelius* had the same attention. *Heliogabalus* suppressed these ordinances ; and though they were renewed by *Alexander Severus*, the baths became common to both sexes, with this only difference, that the men were served by men, and the women by women.

* *Plut. in Cat. Maj.*

THE Romans began the bathing with hot water, and concluded with cold. Anciently they were contented with water moderately warm, afterwards they would have it almost boiling. The cold bath used with success by Antonius Musa, physician to *Augustus*, for the cure of that prince, fell into discredit after the death of *Marcellus*, caused by the same remedy. It came again into vogue towards the end of the reign of *Nero*, by the care of a physician of *Marseilles*, named *Charmis*, who condemned hot baths.

ONE circumstance which prolonged the time of bathing, was, that the Romans used to have their bodies scraped with a kind of knife, or little curry-comb. *Spartian* relates on that subject, this anecdote of the Emperor *Adrian*. He often bathed in a croud of people; there he perceived an old soldier, who having nobody to do him that office, supplied the want by rubbing his back against the wall of the bath. *Adrian*, who knew him, by having seen him in the service, asked him the reason of it. It is, answered the old man, because I have no servant. The emperor immediately gave him slaves, and where-withal

withal to maintain them. The fame of fuch an action, which had many witneffes, was foon fpread in all the quarters of Rome; and the firft time that *Adrian* returned to the baths, a number of old men failed not to repair thither, and praëtiſe the fame means, to attraët the notice and liberality of the prince. He made them all draw near, and inſtead of treating them as he had done the ſoldier, he contented himſelf with cauſing curry-combs to be diſtributed amongſt them, commanding them to ſerve each other *.

I SHALL make the ſame remark upon the baths, as on the walks, that the poets in great numbers repaired thither every day to recite their works to whoever would hear them. Horace, who read his only amongſt his friends, and not that

* The materials of this inſtrument, called *ſtrigilis*, were either horn, ivory, or metal. They conſiſted of two parts; the handle, *capulus*, into the hollow of which they put the hand to graſp the inſtrument; and the tongue, *ligula*, bended into a ſemicircle, hollowed in the middle, and round at the end fartheſt from the handle, which ſerved for a ſort of canal to run off the ſweat, oil, and other impurities, which ſeparated from the ſkin by the rubbing of this ſort of curry-comb.

without great importunity *, blames the indiscretion of these impertinents †.

MEN of letters assembled there, and found libraries at their disposal. I have said, that *Dioclesian* caused the Ulpian library to be transported from the temple of Peace to the *thermæ* he had built. Most of them passed the time in reading; often even they composed their works there. *Suetonius*, in the life of *Augustus*, speaking of the writings of that prince, mentions the epigrams which he had composed in the baths. The elder Pliny, while his slaves rubbed and wiped him, made one read to him, having a secretary at hand to make extracts of what appeared worthy of remark.

On coming out of the bath, the Ro-

* Neu recitem quidquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus :

Non ubivis, coramve quibuscumlibet.

Hor. Sat. l. 1. sat. 4.

† Full many bards the public forum chuse,
Where to recite the labours of their muse;
Or vaulted baths, that best preserve the sound,
While sweetly floats the voice in echoes round.
The coxcombs never think at whose expense
They thus indulge the dear impertinence.

Fran. Hor.

mans

mans were accustomed to rub themselves with oils and essences ; then they went to supper, the usual hour of which was the ninth or tenth hour of the day, which answers to our three or four in the afternoon.

C H A P. III.

Of repasts. Of dinner and supper. Of dining-rooms. Of beds ; and the dress at table. Of perfumes ; and of water for washing. Of places at table. Of buffets. Of table-linen. Of libations and prayers. Of the king of the feast. Of services and dishes. Of the luxury of the table. Of sumptuary laws. Of plate. Of drink, and of wine. Of the music, and spectacles. Of lotteries. Of play. Of the presents made to the guests ; and of beds for sleeping.

HAVING spoke in the two preceding chapters of the occupations and exercises of the Roman citizens, I ought not to forget that part of the day when they relieved the fatigue of labour and agitation with good cheer, social festivity, and

and good humour. I speak of the supper with which some concluded their pleasures, and others shut up the occupations of the whole day.

IF we go back to the first ages of Rome, we shall find that the Romans lived mostly upon roots and milk, or upon a very coarse kind of pottage, called *pulmentum*, which served them for bread, and that they ate flesh only upon extraordinary occasions. Then, says Seneca, were seen illustrious old men covered with glory and with laurels, sitting by their fire-sides, and making their repasts of the roots which they themselves had cultivated, and gathered in their garden. Ignorant of the art of ordering a feast, they possessed that of conquering their enemies in war, and of governing the citizens in peace.

THE ambassadors of the Samnites found *M. Curius* at his farm, with nothing for his repast but some roots, which he eat by the corner of his fire-side. They came to engage him to assist them with his credit in the senate, to obtain a favourable peace. With this design, after having opened the subject of their jour-

ney, they presented him with the gold and silver which their republic had sent him by them. *Curius* refused their offers, and said, "I glory not in having gold myself, but in commanding those who have : and remember, that I could neither be conquered by your arms, nor corrupted by your presents."

ISIDORUS says, that the ancient Romans ate nothing till night, and that they knew not what it was to dine. But besides that it is not probable that a people so laborious should remain the whole day without taking some refreshment, there are a number of passages in the best authors which prove the contrary.

I do not cite here, for example, what Suetonius and Dion relate of *Vitellius*, who made regularly four meals a-day, nor the trouble and expense he cost those who undertook to regale him. Although he divided his favours, and breakfasted with one, dined with another, and taxed a new host with giving him a supper, no meal could be served up to him that did not cost four hundred thousand sesterces, or fifty thousand livres. No respect, for either time or place, prevented him from eating.

eating. He thought every occasion a good one. In the sacrifices, he took almost from off the coals the flesh of the victims, and the sacred cakes. If, in a street, he saw exposed to sale the remains of victuals dressed the night before, he fell to, and ate as he walked. He thought himself emperor only that he might eat. His profusion and intemperance cost him nine hundred millions of sesterces ; that is, one hundred and twelve millions five hundred thousand livres, during the eight months of his reign ; and many cities and families were ruined to supply that expense ; which made Josephus say, that if *Vitellius* had reigned longer, all the wealth of the empire would not have sufficed for the maintenance of his table.

EXCLUSIVE then of the breakfast and afternoon's repast, which were mostly for children and artisans, I say, that the authors, Greek as well as Latin, who have spoke of the customs of ancient Rome, have all made mention of dinner. Plutarch says, that people of every rank took some food about noon ; that they ate in private and sparingly, but that in the evening they made up for it with their friends.

Athenæus reckons breakfast, dinner, supper, and a meal after supper, without distinction of age. Seneca, Macrobius, Martial, Apuleius, Varro, &c. tell us what the Romans were used to eat at dinner.

It is true, that a slight repast taken merely as a refreshment, waiting for supper, was no great matter, since the whole consisted only in a morsel of bread, a little milk, or cheese ; some fruit according to the season, and a little prepared wine : and it is perhaps on account of the meagre fare that the Romans made at dinner, that Isidorus has reckoned it for nothing. Perhaps also he might have been deceived by this, that, in the most ancient times, this repast, as poor as it was, was called *cæna*, supper, if we may believe Festus.

· HOWEVER that may be, the time of dinner, as regular as that of supper, was about the sixth hour of the day, or noon. Suetonius * relates, that the Emperor Claudius took so much delight in the combats of the gladiators with wild beasts,

* In vita Claud. 34.

that he took his place in the morning, and remained there at noon. At the very time that the people went home to dinner, Martial says to a parasite, who came to him before eleven: "You come
" a little too late for breakfast, and much
" too soon for dinner *."

THIS, in a few words, is all I had to say of the other meals of the Romans. As for supper, it was commonly a formal entertainment, an assembly of all the family, and often a rendezvous of many friends. The time, the place, the dishes, the duration, the diversions, and attendance, were all regulated so as to render them the most commodious and agreeable to all the guests.

THE hour of supper was between the ninth and tenth hour of the day; or, as we should say, between three and four in the afternoon. Sometimes it was followed by a kind of collation, called *comessatio*. The place where it was served up was an-

* Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nunciat, et tu
Jam conviva mihi, Cæciliæ, venis:
Mane veni potius: nam cur te quinta moretur?
Aut cur non sero, Cæciliæ, venis?

Mart. ep. l. 8. ep. 64.
ciently

ciently *in atrio*, that is to say, in a vestibule, open in some sort, and exposed to the view of all the world. Besides that the service was there easier; a more private part of the house might have encouraged licentiousness and debauchery. In the summer-season, they sometimes supped under a sycamore, or some other shady tree.

IN those times, those vestibules served for kitchen, banquetting-room, and antechamber. Rome, before it was burnt by the Gauls, was only a heap of cottages, without excepting even the palace of Romulus. That conflagration, says Florus *, served only, by consuming a parcel of wretched huts, to conceal from posterity the baseness of their origin. Pliny observes, that, for four hundred and seventy years, till the entrance of Pyrrhus into Italy, the houses were covered only with shingles and deals †.

PLUTARCH speaks of one Ælius Tubero, son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, a man

* Lib. i. c. 23.

† Scandula contectam fuisse Romam, ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis cccclxx. Cornelius Nepos autor est. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 16. c. 10.*

of distinguished probity, and who supported poverty with more dignity than any other Roman. They were sixteen near relations, all of the Ælian name and family, who had only one little wretched house in the city, and another in the country, where they dwelt all together with their wives, and a great number of young children.

AMONGST the ancient Romans it was not the house that did honour to the master, but the master to the house. Magnificent in public works and edifices, declared enemies of private luxury, they contented themselves with moderate houses, which they adorned with the spoils of the enemy, and not with those of the citizens. Amongst them, says Seneca, a cottage became as noble as a temple, because inhabited by justice, generosity, probity, good faith, and honour*.

BUT

* *Næ tu pusilli animi eris, et fordide se consolantis, si ideo id fortiter pateris, quia Romuli casum nosti. Dic illud potius: Istud humile tugurium nempe virtutes recipit. Jam omnibus templis formosius erit, cum illic justitia conspecta fuerit, cum continentia,*
cum

BUT when once they had begun to build houses, where nothing was seen but luxury and magnificence, and contrived salons on purpose for the more splendid reception of their guests; then that modesty and simplicity of the first ages was forgotten, as well as those regulations so often renewed, and multiplied for their observance. The Censors, though seconded by the wisest of the senate and people; the laws themselves could not stem the torrent.

LUCULLUS had many of these salons, to which he had given the name of some divinity; and that name was for his steward of the household, a signal of the rate of entertainment he desired; each salon having its particular furniture, service, and expense, noted down. We know how he regaled *Cicero* and *Pompey*, who wanted one day to surprise him. Meet-

cum prudentia, pietas, omnium officiorum recte dispensandorum ratio, humanorum divinorumque scientia.

Nullus angustus est locus, *proceeds Seneca*, qui hanc tam magnarum virtutum turbam capit. Nullum exilium grave est, in quo licet cum hoc ire comitatu. *Senec. de consolat. ad Helv. c. 9.*

ing

ing him in the forum, and inviting themselves to supper, *Lucullus* at first excused himself, and begged them to put off the party to another day. They insisted, went home with him immediately, and kept sight of him, that he might have no opportunity of giving any orders to his servants; only, with their permission, and in their presence, he commanded his steward of the household to cover the table in the hall of Apollo. The supper was served with a readiness and magnificence that surprised them. The expense of a banquet in that hall was fifty thousand drachmas, about twenty thousand two hundred livres*.

EVEN when he was alone, he would have his table always splendid. He did not only study magnificence of dress, beds of purple, buffets loaded with vessels glittering with jewels; he was also fond of good cheer and exquisite cookery, of which he heightened the relish by music and dancing. He one day reprimanded his steward for having prepared him a supper less sumptuous. That officer,

* Plat. in Luc.

pleading for his excuse, that his master had invited no body for that day : “ What !” answered he, in a rage, “ didst not thou “ know that Lucullus supped to-night “ with Lucullus ?”

THE banquetting-rooms were twice as long as broad ; and, as they were placed on the upper part of the house, the pleasure of the prospect was joined to that of the table. *Nero*, in his palace, called *domus aurea*, because it shone with gold on all sides, had halls ceiled with plates of ivory, which, turning upon swivels, made changing pictures. By pipes contrived to traverse this ceiling, flowers and perfumes were showered upon the guests. The most magnificent of these halls was round. It imitated the motion of the celestial canopy, and represented the various seasons of the year, which changed at each course. The halls of *Heliogabalus* were all hung with cloth of gold and silver, enriched with jewels. His beds were of massy silver. The mattresses, covered with carpets of cloth of gold, were stuffed with hare-down, or that down which is found under the wings of partridges. His tables, his plate, were of pure gold.

THE tables of the Romans were at first only of common and ordinary wood, square, and with four feet; they afterwards had them round and oval, supported upon one foot, artfully wrought and sculptured, fineered with the roots of the box and citron tree, with ivory and shells, plates of gold and silver, and precious stones; they were uncovered, and at every course they took care to wipe them with a sponge*. It was not till the time of the emperors that the Romans began to cover them with cloths: they had of them stripped with gold and purple.

IN the first ages they ate, seated upon simple benches, after the example of Homer's heroes; or, as Varro expresses it, after the examples of the Lacedæmonians and the Cretans. In time, they took up the custom of lying upon little beds at their meals; that custom they had from Asia. The ladies did not at first think it consistent with their modesty to adopt that novelty: they long kept up the an-

* His ubi sublati, puer alte cinctus acernam
Gausape purpureo mensam perterfit.—

Hor. Sat. l. 2. sat. 3.

cient manner, as more conformable to the modesty of the sex. Valerius Maximus tells us, that in the solemn feasts which they offered to the gods and goddesses, those divinities were pleased to submit to human customs; that Jupiter was laid upon a bed, Juno and Minerva seated upon chairs*; but from the time of the first Cæsars, till the year 320 of the Christian æra, the women followed the custom of the men, and like them lay along at table.

* In great dangers, or after some happy event, they ordained solemn feasts for the gods, to implore their assistance, or by way of thanksgiving. They called that ceremony *lectisternium*, from *lectos sternere*. Priests, called *Septemviri Epulones*, presided at these feasts, and directed them. They placed a round table in the temples, seats and beds covered with tapestry, and cushions, on which they put the statues of the gods and goddesses who were invited to the feast; and they were supposed to partake it, though it was the *Septemviri Epulones* who had all the advantage of it. The beds on which were the statues of the gods, were called *pulvinaria*, and the seats of the goddesses *sellæ*; whence also they gave these feasts the name of *sellisternia*, or *sollisternia*. A plague which was severely felt in Rome the year 356th of the city, gave rise to that ceremony, which in after times was frequently observed,

Chap. III. of the ROMANS. III

As for young people, who had not yet taken the viril robe, they kept them a long time under the ancient discipline. They seated them at table, on the edge of the bed of their nearest relations. Never, says Suetonius, did the young *Cæsars*, *Caius* and *Lucius*, eat at the table of Augustus, but they were seated *in imo loco*, at the lowest place; or, as Tacitus expresses it, *ad lecti fulcra*, at the feet of the bed.

THEY lay along upon these beds, with the upper part of the body a little raised, and supported by cushions, and the lower part stretched at length upon the bed behind the back of the next in order. They leaned upon the left elbow, and made use of the right hand. He who was second, had his head opposite to the breast of the first. If he wanted to speak to him, especially if the thing was to be secret, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom; and in conversation, he who spake sat almost upright, with his back supported by cushions.

A PIECE of cloth was hung above the table, to prevent the guests from being incommoded with dust, or other filth.

Horace, in the description of the feast which Nasidienus gave to Mæcenas, does not forget this canopy, which, by its unlucky fall, caused so great a desolation, and raised more dust than the most violent winds in the plains of Campania*.

ACCUSTOMED as we are to measure every thing by the standard of our own manners and customs, we are surprised at the posture of the Romans at their meals. We find ours much more becoming and commodious: but we need only call to mind that every nation has different usages; and that in many things custom is all in all. *M. le Gendre de St Aubin* †, in his *Treatise on opinion*, has described the different customs of several nations at their meals. “We,” says he, “sit upon chairs when we eat: the ancient Romans lay along at their meals. The Turks sit on the ground upon their heels. The Japonefe kneel. In our feasts, one table serves many. Amongst

* Interea suspensa graves aulæa ruinas
In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
Quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.

Hor. Sat. l. 2. sat. 8.

† Tome 5.

“the

“ the Chinese, each has his own apart.
 “ We will have our meat concocted by
 “ fire, and seasoned. The Tartars eat
 “ theirs raw, finding it otherwise tasteless
 “ and hard of digestion. When we re-
 “ gale our friends, we take our place at
 “ table, inviting them to feed heartily
 “ by our example. In Canada, he who
 “ gives the feast, eats nothing; amusing
 “ himself with singing, and smoking, or
 “ entertaining the company: and, in
 “ China, he even absents himself in per-
 “ fect good manners. At the solemn
 “ coronation-feasts of the kings of France,
 “ the great lords served on horseback.”

THIS variety of customs may be suffi-
 cient to diminish our surprise at the con-
 fined posture of the Romans at table.
 Yet other reasons may be given, more sa-
 tisfactory than mere caprice. They re-
 ceived this custom of lying along at table
 from the Asiatics, as I have already said.
 It was by their example that they ate in
 that posture; but we may add another
 motive more reasonable than mere imita-
 tion, the custom of the Romans of bath-
 ing immediately before their meal. We
 know, that, on coming out of the bath,

the body has need of rest. They therefore threw themselves upon those little beds, which we now call *couches* or *settees*; and they ordered supper to be brought them in that situation. What confirms this conjecture, is, that the hall of the baths was situated adjoining to that where they ate.

BESIDES the general motive of cleanliness, which engaged the Romans, unacquainted with the use of linen, to bathe frequently, they had a particular one for doing it immediately before their repast; as bathing, we know, sharpens the appetite, which has need of being excited in hot climates. But if it produces that effect, it has also the inconvenience of weakening; and this also made them prefer the attitude of lying along upon beds at table, as fitter for refreshment than ours; and as soon as they had once got the habit of it, the custom of sitting upright to eat became a mark of grief and mourning. Plutarch says, that Cato never ate in another posture from the day that he heard of the defeat of Pompey; adding

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ing to his other mourning, that of never lying down, except at night to sleep*.

WHAT I have already said of the changes that had been made in the tables of the Romans, is also to be understood of their beds: that is, that from the greatest simplicity, in a very little time they raised them to the greatest magnificence. *Scipio Africanus* had brought some from Carthage, which for a long time were called *Punicani* and *Archaici*; they were of a common kind of wood, very low, stuffed only with straw or hay, and covered with skins of goats or sheep; but, in the time of *Augustus*, it was no novelty to see beds covered with plates of silver, furnished with the softest mattresses, and the richest counterpanes.

I SHALL not tire the reader with long passages from Pliny, Seneca, and all the poets, upon the form and materials of these beds, on the choice of the purple, and the perfection of the embroidery. I content myself with shewing the contrast in that verse of Ovid, which so well expresses the ancient poverty. The beds

* Plut. in Cat. Min.

of our fathers, says he, were furnished only with herbs and leaves; it belonged only to the rich to cover them with skins:

Qui poterat pelles addere, dives erat.

They commonly ranged three of these beds round a table, one in the middle, and the two others at each end; whence, both the table and the room were called *triclinium*, so that one of the sides remained always open and free for the attendants. Each bed might hold three, four, but rarely five persons. They were raised three cubits, or from four to five feet, different from those they slept upon, which were lower, and without backs. They were not unlike our modern couches.

In the time of the emperors, they often placed only one bed, made in form of an arch or crescent, called *sigma*, on account of its resemblance to that letter of the ancient Greek alphabet. *Heliogabalus* took it in his head one day to place upon this bed, round a table, separate from his own, eight bald men; the next day, eight lame men; another day, eight blacks; then, eight

eight greys; eight lean, eight fat; who were so squeezed, that they could scarce stir or carry their hands to their mouths, while he diverted himself with his court in observing their countenance.

HE often contrived, and it was one of his least cruel diversions, to have this *figma* of leather, and to fill it with wind instead of wool; and at the time when those who occupied it, thought of nothing but eating and drinking, he caused to be secretly opened a cock concealed under the counterpane. The *figma* fell flat, and the poor people tumbled headlong under the table.

HE called to these dissolute feasts the first citizens, and obliged them to drink beyond all bounds: on the contrary, he delighted to torment his parasites with hunger, covering their table with mock dishes in ivory, in wax, in glass, in painted wood, &c. Sometimes he stifled them under a heap of flowers, which he caused to fall from the roof of his superb saloon, in such quantities that those wretches were buried under them, without any power of extricating themselves.

THE Romans repaired to the banquet

on coming out of the bath, clothed in a robe, more or less slight, used only at table; they called it *vestis cœnatoria, triclinaria, convivalis*, and by the single word *synthesis*. For the most part it was white, especially on days of solemnity. Among the Romans, as well as among the Orientals, it was a punishable misdemeanour to appear in the banqueting-room without that robe. *Cicero* imputes it to *Vatinius* as a crime, that he came thither in a black garment, though the feast was given on account of a funeral ceremony. He compares him to a fury appearing suddenly to damp the joy of the whole company, by filling their minds with gloomy ideas.

CAPITOLINUS relates, that *Maximin* the son, while he was yet young, having been invited to the table of the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, and not having the proper habit, they gave him one from the wardrobe of the Emperor. The same thing had happened to *Septimius Severus*, while he was yet a private man, according to *Spartian*. The master of the house often piqued himself upon furnishing his guests with

with magnificent habits*. They consisted of a kind of loose mantles. Martial reproaches *Luscus*, with having more than once carried off two from the house where he had supped †.

BEFORE they placed themselves at table, they took off their shoes, and left them at the bed-feet, that the rich stuffs they were covered with might not be spoiled with dust and mire. Thus, they took their places barefooted, or with a kind of slippers, and resumed their shoes when they rose from table. Plautus says, in one of his comedies, “ Good, I find myself better, take off my shoes, give me some “ drink.” And, some time after, “ Quick,

* It was also customary in the east to change their robes at their feasts, and put on a white one of fine linen, or silk. The master of the house gave one to each of his guests to serve him during the feast. None were to appear there without it. We read in the parable of the marriage-feast, Matth. xxii. that the guest who had it not, was driven out by order of the king who gave the feast ; not being found worthy of admittance there, no garment had been given to him as to the others.

† *Lapsa nec a cubito subducere pallia nescit,
Et tectus lænis sæpe duabus abit.*

Mart. Epig. l. 8. ep. 57.

“ give

“give me my shoes, and haste to remove
“the table.” Nasidienus in Horace, going to give new orders after the misfortune that had happened to him, retakes his shoes *.

THEY presented water to the guests for their hands, and even for their feet, especially to those who had not come from the bath. It was with them as with the eastern nations, a mark of respect due to their guests. Our Lord reproaches Simon the Pharisee, for that he had given him no water to wash his feet, Luke vii. 44.

THEY anointed them with essences and perfumes, often lavishly. Plutarch, speaking of the magnificence of Otho, relates, that *Nero* having used a very precious perfume in a feast, and thinking he had carried profusion very far, by shedding it over the head and whole body of *Otho*; this last, in a feast he gave the Emperor next day, by means of pipes of silver and gold, issuing suddenly from different places of the hall, poured out the same perfume like

* Hor. Sat. l. 2. sat. 8.

water, and deluged the guests and the floor*.

EACH guest had his rank and appointed place at table, where he was conducted often by the master of the house, who occupied the second bed in the middle, as the most convenient place, for having all his domestics under his eye, for giving his orders, and entertaining the company: it was at the same time the place of honour. That below him was for his wife; for the Roman ladies were not excluded from eating with the men, as was the custom of the Greeks. And the place above that of the master of the house, was for the most considerable guest: they called it the *consular place*, because it was destined for the consuls when they went to feast with their friends. It was regarded, says Plutarch, as the most suitable to the dignity of a first magistrate. By means of the space which was between the two beds, he could easily receive those who came to bring him news from the army, or other department of his ministry.

THE friends which the invited guests

* Plut. in Galb.

had liberty to bring with them, and the parasites, the one called *Umbra*, by allusion to the shadow which follows the body, and the other *Musca*, a fly, by allusion to those insects which intrude every where, were placed on the last of these three beds. Under the emperors there was a master of the ceremonies appointed to see this order observed, and take the charge of it from the master of the house.

THE guests being thus placed, each having his own cover, they distributed among them bills of fare, then they placed cups before them. Suetonius says, that one of the court of the Emperor *Claudius* being suspected of having stolen a gold cup he had been served with, he was invited again the next day, but they gave him only an earthen drinking vessel*.

THESE cups were brought from a buffet loaded with other vessels of gold and silver, still more valuable for the fineness of the work than for the materials themselves. On that of *Crassus* were seen vessels of silver which cost him for the fashion at the rate of six thousand sesterces the pound

* In vit. Claud. c. 32.

weight. Amongst them were two goblets particularly remarkable, the work of Mentor a celebrated artist, for which he had paid one hundred thousand sesterces *. An enormous price, adds Pliny, and which, no doubt, he was ashamed of, since he never durst make use of them †.

AMIDST all this magnificence one piece of the ancient fordid parsimony still subsisted. The master of the house furnished no napkins, and each of the guests brought his own. This custom, which cannot but shock us, remained even a long time after the reign of *Augustus*. Catullus complains of one Asinius, who had filched away his in a feast, and threatens to defame him in some of his poems, if he does not send it immediately back ‡.

Martial

* The Roman pound was only twelve ounces, as it is at this day; six thousand sesterces made about 750 livres; and one hundred thousand sesterces 12,500 livres.

† L. vero Crassus orator duos scyphos Mentoris artificis manu cælatos—sestertiis c. Confessus tamen est, nunquam se his uti propter verecundiam ausum. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 33. c. 11.*

‡ Marrucine Asini, manu sinistra

Non belle ut. is in joco, atque vino.

Martial says near the same thing of Hermogenes, a man notorious for such tricks. "None of the guests," says he, "brought any napkin, because every one feared the hawk's talons of Hermogenes. Hermogenes did not for that return empty-handed; he contrived to carry off the cloth *."

WHEN they went to sup with any one, a slave bore the napkin, and took care to carry it back, but not empty; they put into it some pieces of the entertainment. It was not even unusual, in the middle of the meal, to send something to a wife, a relation, a neighbour, or a friend; this was called, *partes mittere*, or *de mensa mittere* †.

THEY

Tollis linthea negligentiorum.

Hoc falsum esse putas ? fugit te inepte :

Quamvis sordida res, et invenusta est.

— *quare aut hendecasyllabos trecentos*

Expecta, aut mihi lintheum remitte.

Catull. ad Asin. 12.

* *Attulerat mappam nemo, dum furta timentur :*

Mantile e mensa surripit Hermogenes.

Mart. Epigram. l. 12. ep. 26.

† The epigram of Martial, *In convivium raptorem*, complains heavily of this custom.

Quidquid

THEY always began by libations, which consisted in pouring out a little wine upon the table in honour of the gods, and were accompanied with some prayers. It was a custom of the highest antiquity, as we see in Homer and Virgil; it was even reiterated at the end of the repast.

THEY placed little images upon the table *, besides which they put the salt; by that they thought to consecrate the table. They looked upon salt as a sacred thing. If it was forgot, or happened to be overturned, the table was profaned, and they thought, that some misfortune

*Quidquid ponitur hinc et inde verris :
Mammas suminis, imbricemque porci,
Communemque duobus attagenam,
Mullum dimidium, lupumque totum,
Murænaque latus, femurque pulli,
Stillantemque alica sua palumbum.
Hæc dum condita sunt, madente nappa;
Traduntur puero domum ferenda :
Nos accumbimus otiosa turba.*

Mart. Ep. l. 2. ep. 37.

* Besides the Penates and Lares, they placed on the table Hercules and Mercury. They esteemed these gods the native presidents of the table, *Genii mensæ præsides*, and called them *Epitrapetii*, that is to say, gods of the table. It was for them especially that the libations were made.

was threatened : A superstition which the Romans derived from the Greeks, and which many people keep up at this day, as well as that other of dreading the number thirteen at table.

IN making any oath, they touched the table as an altar, respecting and reverencing it on account of the presence of their gods, and because it was sacred to hospitality and friendship. This banished all quarrels and animosity from their feasts, and made every act of violence committed there be regarded as a sacrilege.

THIS religious respect and these prayers and libations, were as a public profession whereby the Pagans acknowledged to hold all the goods they possessed of the Divinity. What a reproach for Christians, who notwithstanding the religious custom received from all ages, regardless even of the precept of the apostle, of directing all our actions to the glory of God, whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do *, neglect to sanctify in some sort the beginning and end of their meals by prayer and thanks!

* 1 Cor. x. 31.

AFTER having fulfilled the duties of religion, they created a king of the feast, even in the gravest assemblies. *Cato* the *Censor*, in *Cicero's* book *de senectute*, says, that as old as he is, he delights to be at those feasts, where one animates another, where the king of the feast sees the wine go round, and all are kept to it by his authority *. *Plutarch* makes a long detail of the qualities which this magistrate ought to possess, and what rocks he should most carefully shun. He was commonly elected by the chance of the die; sometimes also by the votes of the guests. He gave laws, and prescribed under certain penalties what each ought to do, whether to drink, to sing, to harangue, or divert and amuse the company by some other talent. Sometimes he obliged them to drink as many glasses as there were letters in the name of the person whose health was drank †. If any one failed in these laws,

* Me vero et magisteria delectant a majoribus instituta : et is sermo, qui more majorum a summo adhibetur in poculis. *M. Tull. Cicero. Cat. maj. de senectute*, 14.

† Det numerum cyathis instantis litera *Rufi*. *Mart. Epigram. l. 8. ep. 49.* Sex jubeo cyathos fundere ? *CÆSAR* erit. *Idem, l. 9. ep. 73.*

he

he was condemned to drink a cup over and above. Cicero says, that Verres, who had trampled upon all the laws of the Roman people, punctually obeyed those of the table.

THE feasts usually consisted of three courses, comprehending the dessert. They began with eggs, and finished with fruit; hence the proverbial expression, *Ab ova usque ad mala*, to signify from the beginning to the end of the entertainment. These eggs were commonly coloured; and it is probable, that our Pasch-eggs take their origin from thence.

THEY did not always serve up each dish separately, as Horace observes in the description of the feast of Nasidienus, but often many dishes together, upon a moveable table. Servius, in his commentary upon Virgil, affirms, that the tables were brought in completely provided. Athenæus agrees with Servius: They brought in, says he, and carried out the tables. Martial also speaks of these shifting tables, and disapproves them. The meats were frequently served, not in one dish common to all; but each had his portion set before him, and sometimes even a separate
 , table.

table. It was the master of the house, or an officer destined to that function, who made the distribution, and all possible equality was observed in it.

THE meats which the Romans most approved, were, amongst others, fish, oysters, the wild boar, which they often served up whole, cranes of Malta, peacocks, thrushes, nightingales, &c. Of all these meats the most sumptuous was the wild boar stuffed with wild fowl and poultry. They called this dish, *The Trojan boar*, by allusion to the Trojan horse. That comparison appears the more just, as the dainties hid in the belly of that animal were so many enemies, which they introduced into the place, and which could not but be fatal to it. *Plus gula quam gladius*, says the Latin proverb: "Gluttony is more destructive than the sword."

SOMETIMES they had meats capable of shocking our imagination. They ate, as a delicate morsel, water-rats, and certain white worms, short and thick, which are found in old woods. They took care to fatten them, and served them at their best feasts. A more reasonable taste is that which they had for geese. They ate a
great

great many of them at Rome, and it was one of the kinds of poultry the most esteemed.

A MODERN author * appears surprised, that the Romans did not make a scruple of eating them, considering the particular veneration they had for geese, because of their having once saved the Capitol. When the Gauls attempted to surprise it, they were discovered neither by the centinels, nor by the dogs that they let out at night ; but were betrayed by the cries and fluttering of the sacred geese which were kept in the temple of Juno. *M. Manlius*, the first roused, sounded the alarm, ran to the walls, and threw down a Gaul who had already laid hold of the battlements. His fall dragged down the next that followed. The garrison, seconding him with stones and darts, completed the overthrow of the rest.

IN acknowledgment of this good office, the Romans ordained, that a certain number should always be kept in the Capitol at the public expense. The first care of the censors, when they entered upon their charge, was to provide for their mainte-

* *M. de la Mare dans son traité sur la police.*

nance. They carried their superstition so far, as to offer sacrifice to these tutelar birds. Every year they carried in procession a goose upon a litter richly adorned, and at the same time a dog fixed to a gibbet; a ceremony which was still practised in the times of the Emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan*. How then could it be allowable at Rome to eat an animal which they held in veneration, and to which they paid religious worship?

To reconcile the conduct of the Romans to their principles, some have supposed, that their veneration for geese did not extend to the whole species in general, but that it regarded only those whose race was perpetuated in the Capitol. They strictly refrained from eating any of that respectable race; it would have been sacrilege: but for the others, they thought themselves at liberty to kill and spit them without scruple. Others, without having recourse to that distinction, have said, that, in all appearance, the gratitude of the Romans towards the geese abated through time, and that the benefit was quite forgot. It is certain, that long before Pliny's time they ate numbers of geese at Rome.

I HAVE said, that the Roman feasts were of three courses. The first was composed of fresh eggs, asparagus, olives, oysters, sallads, &c. Like us they boiled their asparagus very lightly; we learn this little particularity from a common saying of *Augustus*. When that emperor wanted to have an affair dispatched quickly, "You must," said he, "take no more time about it than would boil asparagus, *asparago citius*."

THE second course comprehended the ragouts and roast meats, amongst which they always mingled some dishes of fish; a favourite food of the Romans, and without which they reckoned no good cheer.

FOR the third, they served up fruits and confections, and all those delicacies which the Greeks called *μελιππηκτα*, and the Latins *Dulciaria* and *Bellaria*. The custom was, to serve it upon another table; so Virgil calls it, *Mensæ grata secundæ dona*.

THE slaves who waited at table were lightly clothed, and girt with napkins: those who were placed at the buffet, had charge of the wine, of the hot and cold water, of the vases and cups: others were charged with the ordering

ing

ing of the dishes ; others with sweeping what fell from the table, and with cleaning it at each course : lastly, there were some to cool the room with large fans of feathers, and to drive away the flies.

IN great feasts, the banquetting-room was strewed with lilies and roses : the guests, and even the slaves, had crowns of flowers or of ivy, to which they attributed a power of preventing, by their coolness, the effect of the fumes of wine *.

WHEN they served up a fish or some rare bird, they introduced it to the sound of flutes and hautboys, and received it

* The Romans had taken this custom from the Greeks, who had it from the Orientals. Isaiah seems to allude to these crowns, when denouncing to those of Ephraim, that is to say, to the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the kingdom of Judah, that they should be delivered to their enemies, because of their pride, their debaucheries, and idolatries ; he says, *chap. xxviii. ver. 1. 3.*

“ Wo to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of
“ Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading
“ flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys
“ of those who are overcome with wine.—The
“ crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim shall
“ be trodden under foot.”

with claps and acclamations. Macrobius* cites a letter of Sammonicus Serenus, who compliments the Emperor *Severus* upon the honours which he had paid to a sturgeon, and particularly upon the re-establishment of that custom.

THEY drank the crowns, that is to say, the wine in which they had been dipped. During the preparations for the battle of Actium, *Antony*, by one of those vicissitudes often produced by violent passions, suspected *Cleopatra* of the black design of destroying him by poison; for which reason he would have every thing that was served up when he ate with her, essayed before he would taste it. *Cleopatra* diverted herself with his fears and precautions. In one of their feasts she placed upon her head a crown of flowers, the extremities of which were poisoned. She invites *Antony* to drink the crowns; he consents. He takes that of *Cleopatra*, tears it in pieces, and throws it into the cup; already he had raised it to his lips, when the Queen seizing his arm, said to him, "Know better her against whom you

* Macrobi. l. 3. c. 16.

“ guard yourself, by commanding what
 “ you eat and drink to be first tasted. If
 “ I could live without you, Sir, could I
 “ fail of occasions or means ?” At the
 same time she ordered a criminal to be
 brought, who, by her order, drank the
 cup of Antony, and expired upon the
 spot.

IN the glorious days of the republic,
 meals were prepared with care, but with-
 out art and without delicacy. Gaiety,
 and the freedom of agreeable conversa-
 tion, gave them their highest relish.
Cato the Censor, as austere as he was
 upon other occasions, unbended his brow
 at table: he professed himself well pleased
 with his old age, which, while it diminish-
 ed the necessity of eating and drinking,
 made amends by the taste for, and plea-
 sure of conversation*.

WHEN he was at his country-house, he

* Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tem-
 pestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum æquali-
 bus solum, (qui pauci admodum restant), sed cum
 vestra etiam ætate atque vobiscum: habeoque se-
 nectuti magnam gratiam, quæ mihi sermonis avidi-
 tatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. *Cato Major de*
senectute, 14.

every day invited some of his friends to supper, and made merry with them. His long experience of the world rendered his conversation equally useful to persons of his own age, and to young people: all listened to him with pleasure. Persuaded that the table preserves friendship, the common conversation at his was in praise of illustrious citizens; and he allowed no others to be spoken of, either well or ill; he was attentive and dexterous in evading all occasions for doing it.

It was thus, that by the help of conversation the ancients rendered the pleasures of the table useful, and that they avoided the usual consequences of licentiousness at meals. *Horace* still preserved that taste, and was sensible of all its value.

*O noctes cœnæque delum ! &c. **

*O nights that furnish such a feast
As even gods themselves might taste !
Thus fare my friends, thus feed my slaves
Alert, on what their master leaves.*

* *Horat. satir. l. 2. sat. 6.*

*Each person there may drink, and fill
As much or little as he will,
Exempted from the bedlam-rules
Of roaring prodigals and fools ;
Whether in merry mood or whim
He takes a bumper to the brim,
Or better pleas'd to let it pass,
Grows mellow with a scanty glass.*

*Nor this man's house nor that's estate
Becomes the subject of debate ;
Nor whether Lepos the buffoon
Can dance or not a rigadoon :
But what concerns us more I throw,
And were a scandal not to know ;
If happiness consists in store
Of riches, or in virtue more ;
Whether esteem or private ends
Directs us in our choice of friends,
What's real good without disguise,
And where its great perfection lies.*

Francis' Horace.

BUT the Asiatic luxury making its way to Rome, was not long of infecting their tables. Sumptuousness, delicacy, profusion, all was carried to the greatest excess. The cook, who anciently was the lowest of all the slaves, became the most

important officer in the house. What was at first only a low and contemptible employment, became a difficult and important art. The price of a cook, says Pliny, was rated at as much as would have formerly sufficed for the expense of a triumph, and a fish was bought as dear as a cook. No mortal was so highly esteemed as that slave who was the best skilled in the art of ruining his master*.

IN vain were laws made to restrain all these excesses. Such were the laws *Orchius*, *Fannia*, *Didia*, *Licina*, &c. The first only limited the number of guests; the others struck at the root of the evil, by limiting the expense, and condemning alike the master of the house and the guests. These laws were followed by some others. *Julius Cæsar* renewed and watched over the execution of them, even so far as to visit the markets, to prevent any prohibited meats being exposed to sale, either fish or flesh. Sometimes, even

* At nunc coqui triumphorum pretiis parantur, et coquorum pisces; nullusque prope jam mortalis æstimatur, quam qui peritissime censum domini mergit. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 9. c. 17.*

upon the informations given him, licitors and soldiers, by his orders, entered the houses of private people, and took away meat ready dressed and served up. But luxury, stronger than all the laws, always broke down the barriers they endeavoured to oppose to it. *Augustus* tried to restrain excesses, by limiting the expense of an ordinary meal to two hundred sesterces, (twenty-five livres), one on festival days to three hundred, (thirty-seven livres ten sols), and a marriage-feast to a thousand, (one hundred and twenty-five livres).

THAT law made allowance for times, and was less severe than the others; yet it could not subsist. *Aulus Gellius* cites an ordinance of *Augustus* or of *Tiberius* which extended the allowable expense of a meal to two thousand sesterces, (two hundred and fifty livres). The principal citizens, who should have set examples, trampled upon the sumptuary laws. Even in public repasts, when they were obliged to keep to the letter of them, the slaves of appetite found the art of evasion. We learn this from *Cicero* in a letter to *Gallus*, where he frankly relates what happened

to him at a feast given by *Lentulus Spinther*, on occasion of the promotion of his son to the dignity of augur. "The sumptuary laws," says he, "which ought to be the patrons of frugality, have been very injurious to me. These laws, severe on other articles, give full liberty in regard to vegetables; our voluptuaries take advantage of this, and so delicately dress up their mushrooms, their roots, and herbs of all kinds, that I was duped by them, and my intemperance has been punished by an indisposition not inconsiderable. Thus I, who easily abstain from oysters and from lampreys, have been drawn in by beets and mal-lows. I have had fair warning, and will take care for the future."

THE evil always gained ground. Gluttony was carried to such a point, says an historian, that the sea and earth scarce sufficed to set out their tables *. They arrived at such a perversity of taste, as to value no meats otherwise than by their

* Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere.
Sallust. bell. Cat. c. 13.

dearncss and rarity. Horace thus reproaches the voluptuaries of his time.

*Vix lamen eripiam, posito pavone, &c.**

————— Yet I shall ne'er prevail
To make our men of taste a pullet chuse,
And the gay peacock with its train refuse;
For the rare bird at mighty price is sold,
And lo, what wonders does his tail unfold!
But can those whims a higher gusto raise,
Unless you eat the plumage that you praise?
Or do its beauties when 'tis boil'd remain?
No; 'tis th' unequall'd beauty of his train
Deludes your eye, and charms you to the feast;
For hens and peacocks are alike in taste †.

But

* Horat. satir. l. 2. sat. 2.

† Quintus Horatius the orator was the first who taught the Romans to eat peacocks, in a feast which he gave when he was created Augur. They became so much in fashion, that they were thought essentially necessary to every entertainment. Hence Cicero, in one of his letters, tells Pætus, that he had been so bold as to give a supper to Hirtius without a peacock: *Sed vide audaciam, etiam Hirtio cœnam dedi sine pavone.* One Cn. Aufidius Lurco having found the manner of fattening them, made a yearly profit, by that trade, of about sixty thousand sesterces, (seven thousand five hundred livres). A flock of one hundred peacocks produced to the owner, according to

Varro,

*But say, by what discernment are you taught
To know that this voracious pike was caught*

Where the full river's lenient waters glide,

Or where the bridges break the rapid tide :

In the mid ocean, or where Tiber pays,

With broader course, his tribute to the seas ?

*Madly you praise the mullet's three pound
weight,*

And yet you stew it piecemeal ere you eat.

Your eye deceives you, wherefore else dislike

The natural greatness of a full-grown pike,

Yet in a mullet so much joy express ?

*"Pikes are by nature larger, mullets less *."*

Francis' Horace.

THIS was not all. They forced themselves to throw up by means of a small insipid wine, in order to renew their appetite. Every day, says Suetonius, they were obliged to carry *Claudius* from table. He ate and drank without any discretion. While he slept upon his back with his

Varro, near three thousand livres annually. They were sold from fourteen to fifteen livres, and their eggs from twenty-eight to thirty sols each.

* The delicacy of the Romans was not confined to the difference of a pike taken in the Tiber or elsewhere. They would have none but little pikes and great mullets. *Asinius Celer* paid near five hundred and twenty-five livres for a mullet of two pounds.

mouth

mouth open, they put a feather in his throat to assist him to vomit. *Vitellius*, who regularly made four meals a-day, discharged his stomach by vomiting, in order perpetually to renew its functions. "What a shame?" says *Seneca*, "they vomit, and do not give themselves time to digest the food, which at great expense they have procured from the end of the world."

SOMETIMES a single man is able thus to corrupt a whole nation, as the same philosopher says of the famous *Apicius**,

* *Apicius nostra memoria vixit, qui in ea urbe, ex qua aliquando philosophi, velut corruptores juventutis, abire jussi sunt, scientiam popinæ professus, disciplina sua seculum infecit. Senec. de consolat. ad Helv. c. 10.*

Seneca speaks in another place of the luxury of this Apicius, whom he joins with Nomentanus. Nomentanum et Apicium terrarum ac maris (ut isti vocant) bona conquirentes, et super mensam recognoscentes omnium gentium animalia. Vide hos eosdem e lectis suis spectantes popinam suam, aures vocum sono, spectaculis oculos, saporibus palatum suum delectantes. Mollibus lenibusque fomentis totum laceffitur eorum corpus: et ne nares interim cessent, odoribus variis inficitur locus ipse, in quo luxuriæ parentatur. Senec. de vita beata, c. 11.

who,

who, setting up for a master in the science of good eating, completed the debauching of his age*.

PROFUSION and luxurious refinement reigned equally in these feasts. Suetonius relates, that *L. Vitellius* entertained the Emperor his brother with two thousand fishes, and seven thousand of the rarest birds†. Plutarch, speaking of the ex-

* There were three Apicii at Rome renowned for their gluttony. The first lived in the times of the republic: the second under Augustus and Tiberius: the last under Trajan. The second is the most famous, and it is of him that Seneca speaks. He had kept, so to speak, an open school of elaborate gluttony. He ruined himself by his debaucheries; for he expended one hundred millions of sesterces in eating, (twelve millions five hundred thousand livres). Seeing himself much in debt, he began to reckon with himself, and found, that, after paying his debts, he should have remaining only ten millions of sesterces, (twelve hundred and fifty thousand livres). He thought this was being reduced to die of hunger, and chose rather to end his days by poison.

Seneca, who gives this account of Apicius, concludes it with this reflection, *Quanta luxuria erat cui sestertium centies egestas fuit? I nunc, et puta pecunie modum ad rem pertinere, non animi.* Senec. de consol. ad Helv. c. 10.

† Sueton. in vit. Vitell.

cesses

cesses of Antony at Alexandria *, says, that a young Greek having been invited by one of the masters of Antony's kitchen, to view the preparations for one of his suppers, was astonished to see eight wild boars on the spit, and concluded, that the company was to be very numerous. He was mistaken; but for the table of Antony there were always different magnificent repasts ready to be served up, in order that, at the moment he chose, he might find the most exquisite meats ready dressed to the time.

HELIOGABALUS caused his table to be covered with ragouts of the livers of mullets, the brains of thrushes and foreign birds, the heads of parrots and pheasants, the tongues of peacocks and nightingales. Astonishing as it may seem, he fed his dogs with the livers of geese, and the lions of his menagery with parrots and pheasants. His supper never cost him less than one hundred thousand sesterces, (about twelve thousand five hundred livres), often even thrice that sum. The dearth and difficulty were what heightened the

* Plut. in Ant.

relish; and he liked to have the price of his food augmented, saying, that this overrating sharpened his appetite. He often caused to be thrown out of the window the same meats that were served at his table, and in equal quantities.

How different from the ancients, who nourished themselves with the same food they gave their slaves, who found in their garden and farm-yard wherewithal to regale their friends in the greatest feasts, were those dissolute prodigals of which Rome produced so many examples in the ages of corruption, who, having drawn all that could be got from the seas and neighbouring forests, searched the most distant provinces for an ordinary meal!

As long as the Romans knew to confine themselves to the simple necessities and conveniencies of life, they made use of only earthen or wooden vessels. Moderation was then so much in honour, that, in the year of Rome 477, the censors expelled P. Cornelius Rufinus from the senate, because he was possessed of silver plate to the amount of more than seven pounds and an half. He had been twice consul

consul and once dictator. Happy age! said *Cato Uticensis* upon this subject, when some trifling plate was regarded as luxury worthy the reprehension of a censor. Yet, in spite of the severity of the laws, it became as common as it had been rare*. They even made it of gold.

SYLLA had dishes of silver that weighed one hundred pounds. Pliny observes, that they had found at Rome more than fifty of them of that weight †. One *Dru-sillus Rotundus*, a freed man of *Cludius*, caused one to be made of five hundred pounds weight, which they served up in the middle of eight others of fifty pounds weight each, ranged upon a machine made on purpose to serve them all together.

VITELLIUS caused to be made for one

* The scarcity of plate among the Romans had been matter of jest to the Carthaginian ambassadors. *Invenimus legatos Carthaginiensium dixisse, nullos hominum inter se benignius vivere quam Romanos; eodem enim argento apud omnes cœnitavisse ipsos.* Plin. hist. nat. l. 33. c. 11.

† Paulo enim ante hæc facta sunt lancesque e centenis libris argenti, quas tunc super quingentas numero Romæ fuisse constat. Plin. loco supra cit.

single service, a dish of such a prodigious size, that he himself called it, *The buckler of Minerva*, *clypeum Minervæ*; and they were obliged to build a furnace on purpose for it. In a feast which he gave at the dedication of this extraordinary dish, he caused it to be filled with the livers of a rare fish called *Scarrus*, with the brains of peacocks and pheasants, the tongues of birds of a red plumage, which the ancients called *Phanicopteri*, and of the roes of lampreys caught in the Carpathian sea, between the isles of Crete and Rhodes, or at the extremity of the coasts of Spain. This dish was kept as a remarkable monument till the time of Adrian, who caused it to be melted; for, after *Vitellius*, we do not find that this extravagant mode was kept up.

VESPASIAN, who succeeded him, banished luxury for a time by his example, preserving, throughout his conduct, the simplicity of the ancients; he lived familiarly with the senators, he invited them to his table, and ate at theirs. He preserved certain family-pieces of furniture and a farm in the same state that his grandmother had left them. On feast-days,

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days, he drank out of a little silver cup which had belonged to her. She had brought him up, and he always cherished her memory.

UNDER an emperor who was the friend of modesty and simplicity, private persons durst not give into extravagant expenses. Deference for the prince, and the desire of pleasing him by imitation; had more effect, says Tacitus, than the fear of punishments threatened by the severity of the laws. So that, by his example, he in a short time reformed the disorders caused by luxury, that inveterate vice which in preceding times had been stronger than the laws, and superiour to all restraint*.

THAT reformation still subsisted under Trajan; he conformed himself to it, and had always at his table some of the first, and most virtuous citizens. It was not the lustre of gold and silver plate, nor the variety of meats, and exquisiteness of ra-

* Sed præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque; obsequium inde in principem et æmulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus et metus. *Tacit. annal. l. 3. c. 53.*

gouts, that were there admired; it was the pleasing cheerfulness and easy conversation, turning sometimes on matters of literature. Frugal and modest, his example was a rule, and his œconomy alone made up for the expenses he was led into by his inclination to ease the people, and heap up benefits upon them.

“SUCH,” says Pliny, “is the force of
 “a sovereign’s example: We are as soft
 “wax in his hands; we follow where-
 “ever he leads us, because we are ambi-
 “tious of his affection and esteem, which
 “those who do not resemble him, cannot
 “hope to obtain. In effect, men are
 “good or bad, as virtue or vice meet
 “their just reward. Few men have ele-
 “vation of soul enough to love virtue for
 “her own sake. The greater part are
 “such, as, seeing idleness and debauchery
 “carry off the honours due only to wis-
 “dom and rectitude, want to rise by
 “means which succeed, and imitate the
 “vices they see held in honour. But
 “when virtue attracts the notice, and
 “procures the favour of the prince, her
 “natural beauty, seconded by rewards,
 “resumes

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“ resumes its right in the hearts of men *.”

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

It was the custom of the Romans to mingle wine and water in large vases. They had little cups, called *cyatbi*, which they filled from the great ones. They were a kind of goblet, containing an ounce and an half of liquor. They had also glasses. Pliny † says, that, in the reign of Nero, they began to make vases and cups of glass, imitating crystal. These vases, which they got from Egypt, and from Alexandria, were in great esteem, and very dear ‡.

THE

* Plin. pan. 45.

† Plin..hist. nat. l. 36. c. 26.

‡ The use of glass, according to Pliny, is very ancient, and the invention due to chance. Some traders in nitre, traversing Phœnicia, stopped to dress their victuals upon the banks of the river Belus; not finding stones whereon to set their tripods, they thought of placing them upon pieces of nitre. The matter took fire, incorporated with the sand, and formed little runners of a transparent liquid; which
congealing,

THE manner of drawing drink, and pouring it into the *cyathus*, appears to have been borrowed from the Greeks. They made use of a vase, of a round form, large and deep, called *crater*, into which they put the drink designed for the repast. It was a basin, or rather a cistern, in which they mingled wine and water, which they filled with a large spoon into cups, like the *cyathi* of the Romans.

THIS mixture was practised by the ancients in all countries where the wines were strong and heady, not always from views of health and sobriety. In meals, where the pleasing the palate was consulted, it was absolutely necessary to mingle water with their wine. The custom came from the eastern nations, who first began to mingle water with their wine at their feasts.

congealing, gave the first idea of making glass †. It is pretended that this discovery was made about a thousand years before the birth of Christ.

† Fama est, appulsa nave mercatorum nitri, cum sparsi per litus epulas pararent, nec esset cortinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glebas nitri e nave subdidisse. Quibus accensis permista arena litoris, translucentes nobilis liquoris fluxisse rivos, et hanc fuisse originem vitri. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 36. c. 26.*

PLINY pretends that the libations instituted by *Romulus**, and the prohibition of Numa, to honour the dead by pouring wine upon the funeral pile, proved, that vines were then still rare in Italy. They multiplied in succeeding ages. In all probability, they were brought from Greece.

It was the wines of Italy that first drew thither the Gauls in the time of *Camillus*. The charms of that liquor, new to them, led them to quit their country. We know, that, in the year of Rome 634, under the consulship of *Lucius Opimius*, they made excellent wines in Italy, and in great quantities. The single territory of Capua furnished the wines of Calenum, of Formia, of Cæcubum, of Falernus, Massicum, &c.

THAT of Falernum was most valued; it was rough and strong, and not drinkable, till it had been kept ten years at

* *Romulus* ordered libations to be made of milk. *Romulum lacte, non vino libasse, indicio sunt sacra ab eo instituta, quæ hodie custodiunt morem. Numæ regis Posthumia lex est, Vino rogum ne respergito. Quod sanxisse illum propter inopiam rei nemo dubitet. Plin. hist. nat. l. 14. c. 12.*

least. To soften it, they mingled it with honey, or with Chian wine; but the reign of these wines was not long. In less than an age, they fell into disrepute; through the negligence and avidity of the vine-dressers, who, seduced by lucre, thought only of the quantity, without regard to the quality. It was this that so considerably augmented the vineyards in Italy; and caused, on the contrary, the little arable ground that remained, to be neglected.

To diminish the vineyards, Domitian ordered that those in the provinces should be reduced one half, and he prohibited any new ones to be planted in Italy. Suetonius says, that he did not persist in the execution of his edict*; and it appears

* Sueton. in vit. Domit. l. 14.

I should add, that the ancient custom of Italy was, and it is still observed in Umbria, to train up the vines, and fasten them to trees, and especially poplars, to the top of which they extended their branches. Hence those three expressions of Horace, drawn from the same metaphor. He says they marry the trees to the vines: *Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine, altis maritat populos*. He calls these trees widowers, when they have lost their vines. *Et vi-*

pears by Philostratus, that he dispensed with it in Asia. It was thought that he revoked it, because billets had been dispersed, which, alluding to the violent death he was to die, bore, in two Greek verses, that, let him do what he would, there would remain enough of wine for the sacrifice to which the Emperor was devoted.

MANY authors, however, pretend, that the edict of *Domitian* subsisted in the greatest part of the west, till the time of *Probus*. That Emperor, after the example of Hannibal, who had employed his soldiers in planting olives in Africa, for fear that idleness should make them seditious, employed his in planting vines on the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, and Mœsia, and then gave them to the inhabitants to cultivate. At the same time, he permitted the Gauls, Spaniards, and Pannonians, to plant as many as they would; so that we may say, that it was to

tem viduas ducit ad arbores. Lastly, he gives those trees the name of bachelors, that never have any vines joined to them. *Platanusque caelebs evincet ulmos.* Epod. 2. od. 3. l. 4. od. 15. l. 2.

Probus

Probus that France, Spain, and Hungary, are indebted for their vineyards.

IN the early ages, young people were not permitted to drink wine till the age of thirty. Women were forbid the use of it; and their relations were allowed to salute them, in order to discover whether they had drank it; and, in that case, their husbands or their parents had a right to punish them.

BUT, as soon as the Romans had wine in abundance, that ancient frugality disappeared. Pliny speaks of drinkers, who having slept off a first debauch, returned to the charge, drinking glass after glass, without taking breath; and to make a parade of their strength, they swallowed it with such greediness, that they were obliged to give it back immediately, which they reiterated many times at the same sitting *.

* *Cautissimos ex his balineis coqui videmus, exanimisque efferri. Jam vero alios lectum expectare non posse, imo vero nec tunicam, nudos ibi protinus anhelos ingentia vasa corripere, velut ad ostentationem virium, ac plane infundere, ut statim evomant, rursusque hauriant, idque iterum tertiumque. Plin. hist. nat. l. 14. c. 22.*

OF this number was Mark Antony, who had published a book of his triumphs in hard drinking; and the young Cicero, who made himself famous by the quantity of wine which he swallowed at one draught; as if, says Pliny, he had undertaken to rob Mark Antony, the murderer of his father, of the glory of being the greatest drunkard of the Roman empire *.

EVEN the women abandoned themselves to those excesses without restraint. “ Their weak and delicate complexions
“ are not changed,” says Seneca, “ but
“ their manners. They pique themselves
“ upon carrying excess in wine as far as
“ the most robust men : like them they
“ pass whole nights at table ; and, hold-
“ ing a cup filled to the brim, they glory

* Tergilla Ciceronen M. filium binos congios simul haurire solitum, ipsi objicit.—Etenim hæc sunt ebrietatis opera. Sed nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui M. Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam, edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. *The word which Pliny makes use of, speaking of this publication, is well chose.* Exiguo tempore ante prælium Actiacum id volumen evomuit. *Plin. ibid.*

“in defying, and even in surpassing
“them *.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the goodness of the wines of Italy, the Romans sought wines from Greece, especially those of Chios. They were so very dear, that at the best feasts they only drank one glass of them at the conclusion.

THEY were not long of lavishing them. *Lucullus*, returning from Asia, in a feast which he gave, on account of his triumph, to all the people, distributed above an hundred thousand casks of Greek wine. *Cæsar*, celebrating four different triumphs in the course of the same month, independent of the largesses which he made to the people in wheat, oil, and money, gave them also a feast, where twenty-two thousand tables were served with profusion in the streets, and treated them with Chian and Falernian wine.

* Non mutata feminarum natura, sed vita est; nam cum virorum licentiam æquaverint, corporum quoque virilium vitia æquaverunt. Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, et oleo et mero viros provocant. *Seneca prays for these ladies most piously: Dii illas Deaque male perdant. Senec. ep. 95.*

THE

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THE Romans had other liquors besides wine. Pliny observes, that they were acquainted at Rome with near two hundred vinous drinks. He speaks of a sort of beer which they prepared by fermenting different kinds of grain in water. "See," says he, "how industrious is the love of pleasure; they have pushed debauchery so far, as to try in what manner the same effects might be produced with water, as with wine *." They had also wines compounded with honey, mastic, wormwood, saffron, myrrh, &c. That which was called *vinum myrrbatum*, because the myrrh was predominant, was the most relished.

THEIR custom of keeping wines to a very great age; is known. In the time of the elder Pliny, they had wines of the vintage in the consulship of *L. Opimius*. These wines were called by distinction *vinum Opimianum*. Kept near two ages, they had acquired the consistence of honey, and a taste so highly bitter, that they

* *Heu mira vitiorum solertia, inventum est quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret. Plin. loco supra cit.*

required a great deal of water to bring them down. They generally employed them only in giving a body to other wines, mingling them in small quantities. The price was become excessive. Hardouin deduces from the text of Pliny, l. 14. c. 4. that an ounce of this wine was sold at the rate of ninety-six livres.

THEY kept their wines in vases, shaped like urns, stopped close with mastic and pitch, taking care not to fill them too full, lest the wine should break the vessel. They marked it on the top, with the year of the consulate in which it had been produced, in order to determine the age of it.

THESE vases were of different sizes. There were some of them which contained a cart-load. They ranged them in the cellar, one upon the other. They hung them along the walls; some they placed on the ground, and some in niches of the wall. Some also they placed in granaries, thinking that the air contributed to keep the wine longer. They made use of borachios to transport their wines, not knowing the use of casks. This useful invention

tion is thought to be due to the Gauls who inhabited the banks of the Po.

THE vintage was commonly about the month of September. It was a time of joy and pleasure. They then celebrated the festival called *Vinalia*, in which they offered to Jupiter libations of the first new wines. The vintage was managed much as it is in France. They picked and stamped the grapes. The juice was received into a great vase, called *lacus*; after which they put the grapes into the press, extracted the best juice, and put it to the must. They threw the refuse of the grapes and the husks into water, to make drink for the slaves and workmen. They, lastly, strained the wine through certain sacks or sieves of rushes, to render the fermentation less violent, and to ripen it better*.

At table also they passed the wine through a colander; and to cool it, they put in pieces of ice and snow†. The younger

* This was called *vinum castrare*; and the wine thus filtered, was called *vinum saccatum*, because the cloth they strained it through was called *saccus*.

† The Greeks called these colanders *ἄρτοι*, and

younger Pliny, inviting one of his friends, writes to him, that he had prepared honeyed wine and snow. Anciently, it had been customary to drink lukewarm water in summer as well as winter*.

AFTER the dessert, the women and children left the table, if the repast was followed by any spectacle that decency forbade their being present at; for that part of the day was not all passed in eating and drinking.

IN the times that immediately followed the re-establishment of the republic, it was

the Latins *cola*, or *cola vinaria*; they were made of copper, or some other metal. The custom of filtering wine had place also in the east, and in Judea; in order to avoid swallowing flies, which get into the vases. This custom is alluded to in the reproach which the Lord makes the scribes and Pharisees, Matth. xxiii. 24. "Ye blind guides, that strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel." It was a proverb against those people, who, while they are scrupulously exact in small things, entirely neglect great ones.

* The ancients had also ice-houses. Chares of Mitylene, in the life of *Alexander the Great*, cited by Aulus Gellius, Athenæus, Plutarch, &c. says, that it was to that prince they owed the invention and use of ice-houses.

the

the custom at feasts, to sing the praises of great men, accompanied with the flute and the lyre ; but the Romans had no sooner conquered the Asiatics, than buffoons, farce-players, female musicians, and dancers, and pantomimes, came into fashion, and there was no good feast without all that train.

SENECA, in his treatise of a happy life, makes this portrait of a sensual man :
 “ You see an Apicius stretched upon his
 “ bed, covered with roses, contemplating
 “ the magnificence of his table, de-
 “ lighting his hearing with the most har-
 “ monious concerts, his sight with the
 “ most charming spectacles, his smell
 “ with the most exquisite perfumes, and
 “ his palate with the most delicious
 “ meats.” They even introduced the combats of the gladiators, a barbarous diversion ! in which the effusion of human blood was a spectacle agreeable to the eyes of the Romans, in the midst of feasting and pleasure.

WHEN the Emperors (and sometimes the great) gave feasts, they often had a lottery drawn. The tickets were distributed *gratis* among the guests, and all of
 them

them gained some prize. *Heliogabalus* took pleasure in scheming them, part in considerable lots, and part in lots of little or no value; there were some prizes of ten camels, of ten flies, of ten pounds of gold, of ten pounds of lead, of ten ostriches, of ten eggs, &c.

LOTTERIES were, in those times, largesses, with which the emperors gratified the people. Little balls were cast among the multitude on which were marked the value of the lot; and whoever could catch one, went to receive his prize at an office. *Nero*, instead of throwing little pieces of money for the presents called *missilia*, scattered gold, and silver, and precious stones. The plays which he gave, were concluded by lotteries, consisting of wheat, wine, stuffs, gold, silver, jewels, pictures, slaves, beasts, and birds of all kinds, and lastly, ships, houses, and lands.

IN the interval of the courses, and after the feast, they played at dice, already in use in the times of the republic; for although gaming was prohibited by the Roman laws, except during the *Saturnalia*,

lia *, that prohibition was not always regarded, or else it only respected public places, and the disorders that were there committed. The elder *Cato* thought play suited to old age. The lawyer *Scævola* was very fond of it.

THE ordinary play was with three dice. They were cubes like ours, and called *tesserae*. He who threw the highest num-

* The intention of this feast was, to represent the equality which reigned in the time of Saturn among men living under the laws of nature, without difference of condition. The power of masters over their slaves was suspended. They ate together. The slaves had full freedom of speech. The masters took pleasure in changing condition and habit with them. The statue of Saturn, tied all the rest of the year with fillets of woollen, probably in memory of the captivity he had been reduced to by the Titans and by Jupiter, was unloosed during his feast, either to signify his deliverance, or to represent the liberty which reigned in the golden age, and that which they enjoyed during the Saturnalia. These were days of feasting and rejoicing. The Romans quitted the toga, and appeared in public in the dress made use of at table. They sent presents to each other. Games of chance forbid at all other times, were then allowed. The senate and the bar were vacant, and the schools shut up. They thought it ominous to begin a war, and punish criminals, in a time consecrated to pleasures.

ber carried off all that was laid upon the game. The best throw called *venus*, was three sixes; and the worst, called *canes*, was three aces.

THE play called *Duodena scripta* was a kind of trick-track. The table on which they played was square, and divided by twelve lines, on which they placed counters, according to the points that were thrown. These counters were of gold, silver, or glass, to the number of fifteen on each side, and of different colours; they called them *Calculi*.

AFTER having made a motion, if one perceived he had played ill, he could, with the consent of his adversary, begin it again. The twelve lines were intersected by a tranverse line, called *linea sacra*, which they did not pass without being forced to it. When the counters had got to the last line, they were said to be *ad incitas*. They made use of that metaphor to express any one's being reduced to extremity.

THE dice called *Tali* could seldom rest but upon their four sides, the two ends being too narrow; yet the thing was not impossible. They called this uncommon
throw,

throw, *talus rectus*. They commonly made use of four of this sort of dice. The most lucky throw, called *venus*, was, when all the dice came up different. The opposite throw, called *damnosi canes*, was the four aces. To prevent any sleight of hand, they made use of boxes to throw the dice. These boxes were round, strait-necked, and in form of little towers; wider below than above: they had no bottoms, but were fluted in ringlets, which made the dice take many turns before they fell upon the table*.

THE passion for play increased under the Emperors. They set the examples themselves. Juvenal declaims against those who ruined themselves by it†. *Nero* ventured four hundred thousand sesterces, (about fifty thousand livres), upon

* The noise which this occasioned gave these boxes the name of *fritillus*. They also called them *turris*, *turricula*, *arca*, *pyrgus*, *phymus*, &c.

† ————— Alea quando

Hos animos? neque enim oculis comitantibus
itur

Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arca.

Prælia quanta illic dispensatore videbis

Armigero! simplex ne furor sestertia centum

Perdere? ————— *Juv. sat. 1. 88.*

one throw of the dice. *Claudius* could not do without play; he gamed even in carriages on the road.

AUGUSTUS was blamed for the same passion. We read in *Suetonius* an epigram upon that subject, which relates to the time of the Sicilian war against *Sextus Pompeius*.

*Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

“ After being twice conquered at sea,
“ *Octavius* has lost his fleet; he plays
“ perpetually at dice that he may not al-
“ ways lose, but be sometimes victori-
“ ous*.” But this censure gave him lit-
tle trouble. Play was only an amusement
to him, and he carried it no further.

WE learn this by some fragments of his letters related by *Suetonius*. In one, he tells *Tiberius*, “ We passed our time
“ agreeably at the feast of *Minerva*. We
“ played every day, and the game ran
“ high. Your brother did not lose much;
“ he retrieved himself by degrees. For
“ me, I lost twenty thousand sesterces,

* *Sueton. in vit. Aug.*

“ but

“ but it was by being liberal according
 “ to my custom. If I had been strict in
 “ exacting payment, and had kept what I
 “ gave each of them, I should have gain-
 “ ed to the amount of fifty thousand se-
 “ sterces, &c. *.”

PLAY, to people of wisdom and modera-
 tion, was only an innocent relaxation.
 “ Nature,” says Cicero, “ exacts from us
 “ a grave and serious conduct, and calls
 “ us to more important occupations than
 “ play and diversion. Not but we may
 “ sometimes indulge in them; but we
 “ ought to use them only as we do sleep
 “ and necessary recreation, and not till
 “ our serious duties are performed. We
 “ ought also to take care that our plea-
 “ sures have nothing in them dissolute
 “ or excessive, nothing base or offensive
 “ to purity of manners: for if we do not
 “ allow of all kind of plays to children,
 “ but only such as are consistent with
 “ decency, how much more ought
 “ we to be careful not to offend against
 “ it?”

PLINY, in a letter which he writes to

* Id. *ibid.*

Cornelianus, speaks of more tranquil pleasures, than gaming, however moderate, can be. After having given his friend an account of the affairs that *Trajan* had ended at Cincellum, he adds, " You see
 " that our time has not hung upon our
 " hands, yet our occupations were not
 " the less attended to. We had the honour of supping every night with the
 " Emperor; the repast was frugal, considering the dignity of him who gave it.
 " The evening was spent in hearing some
 " pieces of comedies, or in the recital of
 " some agreeable and facetious tales;
 " sometimes also a flow of spirited conversation took place of a pleasure, which
 " might have cost more, and perhaps have
 " delighted less."

BUT what the same author relates of the elder Pliny, and Cornelius Nepos of Atticus, marks still more positively the custom of those, who, confining themselves to the innocent pleasures of the table, knew how to turn to advantage a time which the greatest number passed in debauchery and excess. Pliny caused one to read to him during supper, and always took care to make extracts. At the table
 of

of Atticus a reader took place of comedies, farces, jesters, story-tellers, &c. Every guest was sure of hearing agreeable and instructive lectures, and the mind had its share of pleasure as well as the appetite. Lamprides says, that the highest relish given to the feasts of *Alexander Severus* was a book which they read to him, or the conversation of learned and virtuous men, whom he invited to his table. An enemy to luxury, he had fixed the service of his table to a moderate and invariable allowance. The bread, the wine, the meats, every thing had its settled rate. He never made use of gold plate; and all he had of silver did not exceed two hundred pounds weight; which is not much more than two thousand four hundred ounces of our weight; in which, for an emperor, he but little exceeded the ancient Roman laws, which allowed of one hundred pounds weight to private persons. He never had a comedy played at supper: if he wanted some spectacle to divert him, instead of the cruel and bloody combats of gladiators, he made little dogs and pigs fight together, and cocks and partridges; or else they brought him

little birds, which fluttered about the hall and round the table.

ALL these diversions did not hinder the guests from drinking to each other's health, to the health of their friends, and of persons whom they held dear*. They drank in a circle, handing the cup from one to another, from the upper place to the lowest.

THAT custom came from the Greeks. Athenæus calls it *ἐν κύκλῳ πίνειν*, and Pollux *κυλέκας ἐν κύκλῳ ἐπιέλαυνειν*. One day, says Plutarch, that the seven sages dined with *Periander* the tyrant of Corinth, with a great company, *Periander* invited all that were at his table to drink round in his cup; and as it remained a long time in the hands of Chilon, of Bias, and Thales, one of the guests said maliciously, These gentlemen sages want to do with the cup of *Periander* what they did with that of *Baticles*; they affect to send it from one to another, and fear to let us share with them†.

* In drinking the health of any one, they made use of these words, *Propino tibi, bene tibi, bene illi, bene tui, Ζησίαας*, &c.

† Plutarch in conviv. sept. sap.

THIS Baticles having inherited a vase of great value, had destined it for the sages of Greece. It was carried by his order to Thales, who remitted it to the other sages; and as they sent it back to him, by way of distinction, he offered it to Apollo at Delphos, and added these words to it, *Thales, son of Examius of Miletus, presents to Apollo this vase which he has merited twice* *. The sages were reproached

* It was on that occasion, according to some authors, that the title of sage was given to the seven sages of Greece; others say, that some fishermen of the island of Cos having cast their nets, some strangers from Miletus purchased the first haul. When these nets were drawn out of the sea, they saw with surprise, that they contained a golden tripod which had belonged to the fair *Helen*, who should have thrown it into the sea, when, after the death of Paris, she was under the necessity of following her husband Menelaus. A long dispute arose on the subject of this tripod, at first between the fishermen and the strangers of Miletus. The first maintained, that they had no intention to sell any thing but the fish that might be caught in their nets; and the others, who had specified nothing, wanted to profit by the uncertainty of the bargain. Very soon it became a war of nation against nation; and it would have had fatal consequences, without the oracle of Delphos, which

proached on that occasion, and that reproach was hinted at by the raillery just mentioned, with having complimented each other in the manner of politicians, who praise only to be praised, and who, if they did not flatter themselves with a return of approbation, would give into their own inclination, and blame incessantly.

THE supper was commonly followed by an extraordinary regale, called *commessatio*, from the word *κόμος*, because the ancient Romans, who dwelt more willingly in the country than in the city, regaled each other there in their turns. Sometimes, even after having supped in one place, they repaired to another; and it happened but too often, that they passed whole nights in debauchery and drunkenness.

EVEN in a time when a reformation of manners was in agitation at Rome, Ti-

ordained, that the tripod should be given to the wisest of the Greeks. They sent it first to *Thales*, who remitted it to *Bias*, *Bias* to *Pittacus*, *Pittacus* to *Solon*, *Solon* to *Cleobulus*, *Cleobulus* to *Myson*, *Myson* to *Chilo*, who sent it back to *Thales*, who consecrated the tripod to *Apollo*.

berius,

berius, who had at all times loved wine, passed two days and two nights, without interruption, at table, with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso. He afterwards rewarded his companions in debauchery, by making one governour of Syria, and the other prefect of the city. He was not ashamed of discovering his motive in the commissions that he gave them, where he calls them *agreeable friends*, friends of all hours. Seneca says of him, that he got drunk only once in his whole life; and that from the moment he became intoxicated, he continued so till his death. He passed the greatest part of the night at table, and slept till mid-day: that was his day-break. *Cossus* also, prefect of the city, under Tiberius, as if that prince had a predilection for men addicted to wine, often fell so profoundly asleep in the senate, whither he repaired from the table, that they carried him off in their arms without his being wakened by the motion.

CATO was a long time sober, says Plutarch, drinking only one glass at a meal; but he insensibly accustomed himself to remain long at table, and often till morning.

ing. His friends excused him, for that attending to the affairs of the republic all day without relaxation, he had only the nights to enjoy the pleasure of conversation.

ONE *Memmius*, designing to reproach *Cato*, in an assembly, with passing whole nights at table; *Cicero* took upon him his defence, and replied to that censurer, *At least, you do not tax him with having played at dice all day*; but that apology, feeble enough of itself, becomes absolutely insufficient, if be true that *Cato* went so far as to intoxicate himself. *Cæsar* related, that he had been found drunk at the corner of a street by some people, going very early, according to custom, to the levee of some great man; and that when they discovered his face, they blushed for shame. "You would have thought," added he, "not that they had surprised *Cato* in a fault, but *Cato* them."

PLINY observes very well, that *Cæsar*, by that reflection, praised his enemy at the same time he blamed him *. Yet it
is

* Quem tamen C. Cæsar ita reprehendit ut laudet.

is not less true, that this vice greatly disparaged the gravity of such a personage as *Cato*. That thought of *Seneca*, his extreme panegyrist, and almost his adorer, is not only absurd, but contrary to all morality, when he advances, that it were easier to render drunkenness reputable, than *Cato* vitious*.

THEY ended their repasts in the same manner they began them, by libations and prayers. They offered vows for the health of the master of the house, and drank to his health; and under the *Cæsars*, to that of the Emperor. This parting-glass was called *poculum boni genii*, with this cry, *Genius, May he live!* after which they washed their hands with a kind of paste, thrown afterwards to the dogs.

THE master of the house distributed a part of the remains to the slaves; but as

laudet. describit enim eos quibus obvius fuerat, cum caput ebrii retexissent erubuisse. *Plin. Ep. l. 3. ep. 12.*

* *Catoni ebrietas objecta est: at facilius efficies, quisquis objecerit, hoc crimen honestum quam turpem Catonem. Senec. de tranquil. anim. sub. fin.*

there

there were a thousand things that were neither worth keeping, nor giving away, they burnt them. It was a sort of sacrifice, which they called *protervia*. Hence that saying of Cato, of a debauchee, who having spent his whole fortune, had his house unluckily burnt down, He has only done according to rule, *Proterviam fecit*.

LASTLY, the guests taking leave of their hosts, received presents, called *apophoreta*. Among the examples which history furnishes of them, I find some in a cruel and fantastic taste, and others extravagantly prodigal.

OF the first, is one of Domitian. In the feasts which he gave on the occasion of his triumph over the Daci, whom he had not conquered, he invited to a repast, the principal of the senators, and of the equestrian order. He had them introduced into an hall, all hung with black, even to the roof and the floor. The couches were bare, and painted black. When they had taken their places, every one found opposite to him a little column, such as is raised upon tombs. This column bore the name of the person for
whom

whom it was set up, with a sepulchral lamp. None of them were allowed their own servants to attend them. In place of them, appeared little naked children, blackened from head to foot, to represent the infernal shades. These children having performed, round the table, a mournful and hideous dance, placed themselves each near the guest he was to serve. The meats were the same that were offered to the dead in funeral ceremonies. The plates, the vessels, all was black, and indicated nothing but horror. A profound silence reigned in the assembly, as in the abode of the dead. *Domitian* alone spoke, entertaining his company with nothing but deaths and tragical adventures.

ONE may judge with what dread all the guests were inspired by such preparations, made by the orders of a cruel prince. Not one of them but thought his end drew near. At length, *Domitian* dismissed them, not with their own domestics, but in the hands of persons unknown, who put them into carriages, and conducted them to their homes. When, having got into their houses, they began
to

to take breath, a message from the Emperor was signified. They doubted not but it was a sentence of death. The Emperor sent them presents of all that had appeared at the repast. To one, some of those little columns, which were found to be of silver : to another, some piece of plate ; and the child that had served each of the guests, was added to the present, no longer black, but elegantly dressed.

CLEOPATRA, after having magnificently feasted Antony and his train at Tarsus, every day in a new taste, gave each time to that general the gold vessels, enriched with jewels, the tapestry and purple carpets, embroidered with gold, which had been used at the repast. To his friends, whom he had brought in great numbers, as there were twelve tables, she presented the beds on which they had lain, and the gold vessels in which they had been served. When they went away, she distributed to those of most distinction, litters, with their bearers ; to others, horses magnificently caparisoned ; and to all, young Ethiopian slaves, to bear flambeaux, and light them on their way.

VERUS,

VERUS, in a feast which he gave, caused every thing to be served that could be found, of most rare and delicious in wines and meats. He was the twelfth at table, and he gave each of his guests the young cupbearer that had served him with drink, a house-steward, with a complete service of plate ; the same animals alive, fowls, or quadrupeds, that had appeared upon the table. The cups they had drank out of, were as precious by the materials, as by the ornaments ; gold, silver, crystal, precious stones. They changed them every time they drank, and they were always given to him who had made use of them. He gave them crowns of flowers, which were not of the season, with pendants woven of gold, vases of gold filled with the most exquisite perfumes ; and, to carry them home, he gave them machines all glittering with silver, together with the set of horses, and the driver.

HELIOGABALUS was always served in gold plate. He distributed it every night after supper ; he gave, moreover, to his guests, eunuchs, saddle-horses, with their equipages, cars drawn by four horses, a

Q

thousand

thousand pieces of gold, an hundred pounds weight of silver, &c.

WHEN they returned home, those who had time employed it in walking, or in ordering the affairs of their family, making their domestics pass in review; each freed man, and each slave, wishing his master good night, before they sought in sleep the repose that nature demands.

THE Romans, in the early times, lay upon straw, or upon leaves, having no covering but the skins of animals, which also served them for mattresses.

BUT these Romans, once so poor, and so simple in their way of living, became so delicate and so voluptuous, that, not content with procuring themselves all the conveniencies of life, they carried to the utmost excess, sumptuousness in their tables, pomp in their dress, magnificence in their buildings, equipages, furniture, &c.; and, to speak here only of their beds, they not only employed mattresses, and the finest down, but the frames of them were adorned with figures in relief or inlaid. They had them of ivory, and even of massy silver, with coverings of purple, heightened with gold. These beds, made
much

much like our couches, or day-beds, without curtains or canopies, but with a back which went on one side from head to foot, were so high that they ascended them by several steps.

C H A P. IV.

Of cloathing. Of the toga. Of the tunic. Of girdles. Of linen. Of the military drefs. Of hats. Of the hair. Of the beard. Of shoes and stockings. Of the toilette. Of the bead-drefs. Of paint and the habits of the Roman ladies. Of jewels and trinkets. Of plain and ornamental rings, &c.

THE first habit that the Romans of either sex made use of was the *toga*. Whether they learned the use of it from the Lydians, or whether these did not borrow it from the Greeks: whether, according to Artemidorus, a king of Arcadia left the mode to the inhabitants of the coast of the Ionian sea; or whether, to speak with more **probability**, the Romans were indebted for it only to necessity and convenience, to commerce with

their

Q 2

their neighbours, to taste, and even to caprice: whatever may have been the origin of it, the *toga* was the proper and distinguishing habit of a Roman citizen*.

It appears to have been a robe, round and ample, open before as far as the girdle, and without sleeves. It enveloped the whole body: they fastened it upon the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and shoulder at liberty. The measure of it was not fixed; it varied as well as the fineness of the stuff, according to the fortune, rank, or taste for finery of the wearer.

HORACE represents a rich man who seriously recommends it to another of slender revenues, not to pretend to equal him in the largeness of his *toga*†. He describes, in another place, the public indignation against another rich upstart, who, proud

* Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

Æneid. l. 1. v. 282.

† ————— Meæ (contendere noli)

Stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
Arcta decet sanum comitem toga: desine me-
cum

Certare. ————— *Horat. Ep. l. 1. ep. 18.*

of his great possessions and his credit, swept the streets of Rome with a *toga* of six ells *.

THEY folded the *toga* in different ways, and made many folds in it to prevent its dragging. They took up a large lappet, and many folds in the arms and over the shoulder; and, for the convenience of action, they tucked it round the body †.

QUINTILIAN explains at length in what manner an orator ought to hold his *toga* in pleading. Hortensius the orator, studious to excess of elegance in attire, dressed himself before a mirrour, taking no less care in adjusting the folds of his *toga*, than in arranging the periods of his discourse. He took them in, and fastened them with the girdle. The knot of which was so artfully tied, that it was lost in the

* Videſne, ſacram metiente te viam

Cum bis ter ulnarum toga,

Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium

Liberrima indignatio? *Horat. Epodon. ep. 4.*

† They called theſe lappets and theſe folds *ſinus* by metonymy; and from the cuſtom of tucking up the robe for action, came the expreſſion *ſe accingere*, which ſignifies to prepare one's ſelf, to make ready, &c.

lappets of his robe, which seemed to flow negligently loose. One day that he had employed a great deal of pains and study in thus decking his person, finding himself in a very narrow passage, where his colleague, for he was then consul, pressed upon him and ruffled him a little; he treated the disordering of the folds of his *toga* as a capital affair, and caused the author of so singular an injury to be cited before the judges.

THE Romans had *togæ* of different kinds. That which they called *picta*, or *palmata*, was interwoven with purple and gold, embossed and embroidered with leaves representing palms. The generals of armies wore these when they entered Rome in triumph. The *toga* called *trabea*, was of purple striped with scarlet and white; it had been the habit of the kings; it was that of the Roman knights the day of their general review, yearly on the Ides of July. The *prætecta* was edged with a binding of purple; it was the robe of the magistrates and the principals among the priests.

YOUNG people of rank wore it with a golden ball hung to a collar. At the age of
of

of twelve years they quitted the infantine habit, which was a party-coloured mantle, called *alicata chlamys*, to take the robe *prætecta*. Girls wore it till they were married, and youths till they took the *viril robe*, so called because it was the habit worn by men full grown. It was white, and without ornament.

THE day on which they assumed this dress, was a day of feasting and rejoicing in the family. The father of the young man gave a feast for his relations, and friends, and all his family; at the end of the repast they took off the robe *prætecta*, and the golden ball, which they consecrated to the gods *Lares*, and clothed him with the *toga virilis*. After which the father, accompanied with his friends and relations, and followed by all the domestics, led his son to the Capitol, to do homage to the gods on his entering on the flower of man's age, by offering sacrifices and prayers.

FROM thence the young man, attended by the same train, was conducted to the forum, to make his entry into the world.

THEY called that ceremony *tirocinium*, noviciate, and those for whom it was performed,

formed, *tirones*, novices ; a name which was also given to officers and soldiers serving their first campaign.

IN the first ages of the republic, the youth took their *toga virilis* at the end of their seventeenth year. But ancient discipline relaxing, the indulgence of fathers advanced that solemnity one year. Under the Emperors they gave it at all ages. *Augustus* caused his grandsons *Caius* and *Lucius* to take it in their fifteenth year. *Nero* was but entering his fourteenth year when he received it from *Claudius*.

THE colour of the *togæ* was white, which made it necessary to send them often to the fuller's. On festival and rejoicing days they wore them whiter than ordinary. Those who aspired to offices, appeared in *togæ* of a splendid whiteness glossed with chalk. They called these *toga candida* ; and hence the name of *candidati*, candidates, given to the pretenders to employments.

ON the contrary, when a citizen, accused of any capital crime, was obliged to appear, he presented himself, his relations and clients, all clothed in old robes, dirty and worn, to excite compassion.

They

They called these robes *toga sordida*; and hence those who were under the necessity of putting them on, were called *sordidati*. It was also the general dress of the citizens in times of public calamity and affliction. These however are not to be confounded with the robes called *toga pulla*; they were black, or, according to some authors, iron-grey.

THE *toga* was an honourable habit, the lower people seldom wearing more than a simple tunic. Exiles lost the right of wearing it during their exile. It was commonly quitted in the country, and in private, where they wore night gowns.

ON the contrary, in the city and in foreign countries it was indecent to appear without the *toga*. *Germanicus* in a voyage which he made into Egypt, marching without guards, and taking the dress of the Greeks, in imitation of what *Scipio Africanus* had formerly done at Syracuse, was censured for it in full senate, as *Scipio* had been by most of his fellow-citizens.

BUT under the Emperors the *toga* began to fall into discredit. Already under Augustus the lower people had disused it almost

almost altogether. And the better sort accustomed themselves to put a furtout above it. *Augustus* could not endure this change. One day that he saw in the forum a great number of citizens thus travestied, he pronounced with indignation that verse of Virgil, *Æn.* 1. v. 282:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togalam.

"See then these Romans, these masters
"of the universe, that nation whose pro-
"per and distinguishing habit is the *toga*."
And he charged the ædiles not to suffer any citizen to appear in the circus or in the forum, unless he was clothed in the *toga*, and without a furtout. But convenience prevailed over his prohibitions, and the use of furtouts became very common *.

ADRIAN exacted of the senators and

* These furtouts, called *pænula*, *lacerna*, &c. were a kind of mantles of a stuff more or less heavy, according to the season. They put them over the *toga* in the country, in travelling, and, in general, to defend themselves against rain and cold, with a kind of capuchin, called *encullus*, which was joined to it, but could be separated at pleasure.

knight,

knights, that they should never appear in public without the *toga*. He gave the example, by making a rule to himself, always to wear it in Italy. He even often wore it at table, although a mode, generally received, had established another kind of dress for meals. Nevertheless, the *toga* fell into disuse under the emperors. Scarce any but the great, their clients, and dependents, wore it.

COMMERCE with foreign nations, and luxury, introduced dresses, which they had not known even how to name. I shall not make a detail of them: we know to what excess pageantry was carried; it had already begun in the times of the republic: Horace gives an example of it.

—————*Cblamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
Si posset centum scænæ præbere rogatus,
&c. **

—————*Lucullus, as they say,
Once being ask'd to furnish for a play
An hundred martial vests, in wonder cried,
Whence can so vast a number be supplied!*

* Hor. Epist. l. 1. ep. 6.

*But yet, whate'er my wardrobe can afford,
You shall command; then instant sent him
word,*

*Five thousand vests were ready at his call,
He might have part, or, if he pleas'd, take
all.* Francis' Horace.

THE men, as well as the women, wore a tunic under the *toga*, with this difference, that the tunic of the men went no lower than the knees, and that of the women to the heels; it had also sleeves, which they only were allowed to wear; for, amongst the men, it was a mark of affectation and effeminacy, of which no example was seen during the republic.

It even appears, that the Romans, in the early ages, wore nothing but the *toga*. *Cato Uticensis*, who, by a spirit of singularity, liked to go out of the common road in things, even indifferent, appeared in public, although prætor, and in the functions of his office, without a tunic; and, instead of shoes, he had only single soles tied on above the foot. He pretended, says Plutarch, therein to recall the customs of the ancients; and he authorised his imitation by the statues of
Romulus

Romulus and Camillus, which were clothed only in the simple *toga*.

THEY fastened the tunic more or less with a girdle, to keep it tight, or to tuck it up. These girdles were different, according to the time of life, and served also for purses to keep the money that they carried about them; they constituted a part of the decency of dress, and it was offending against it to appear in public without a girdle, or with one loose and ill tied.

CÆSAR, and after him Mæcenas, exposed themselves to reproaches on this subject. It is this which gave occasion to that *bon mot* of Sylla, relating to Cæsar, "Beware," said he to his friends, "of that young man, whose girdle seems to indicate a soft and effeminate character." The meaning of Sylla was, that, under that appearance of effeminacy, Cæsar concealed an immeasurable ambition, and a spirit of faction and cabal. Mæcenas was blamed, for that he never wore a girdle, not even when, in the absence of Augustus, he held the supreme command. The officer, whose charge it was to de-

R mand

mand the word, found him in a loose tunic, hanging down to his heels.

UNDER that tunic, the greatest part wore another, also of woollen, which was in place of a shirt; for it was not till the time of the Emperors that the Romans began to be acquainted with linen, which came from Egypt. *Alexander Severus* was particularly fond of it; but he complained that luxury had corrupted the goodness of it, since the mode of interweaving it with lists of gold or purple. "If linen is soft upon the skin," said he, "why these foreign ornaments, which only serve to render the tunic so much the more rough *?"

SOME,

* Linen was not yet common in the west in the eighth century. *St Boniface*, in a letter to a German bishop, tells him, that he sends him some cloth with a long nap, to wash his feet. Probably this want of linen, adds *M. de Voltaire*, was the cause of all the diseases of the skin, known under the name of *leprosy*, so general at that time; for the hospitals, called *lazarettes*, or leprous houses, were already very numerous. Table linen was still very rare in England about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and *La Flamma*, a writer of the fourteenth, says, that in the time of *Frederic Barberossa*, and of
Frederic

SOME, whether through taste, whim, or reasons of health, did not even confine themselves to two tunics. *Augustus* wore four, without reckoning a sort of under-waistcoat, next the skin, and a doublet; a furred robe, and sometimes a mantle, covered all. Would one believe, that this was the same man, who in summer lay with the doors of his chamber open, for the most part in the middle of a peristyle, breathing the coolness of a murmuring fountain, while an officer, with a fan in his hand, agitated the air around his bed?

THE senators and knights had pieces of purple sewed upon the tunic, and placed upon the stomach. They called this ornament *clavus*, because it had the form of a nail, or of the head of a nail. The senators wore them larger than the knights; and hence their tunic was called *laticlavus*, and that of the knights *angusticlavus*. Thus, Horace, speaking to one *Tullius*, says,

Frederic II. they still wore shirts of serge, and not of linen, at Milan. *Vid. L'hist. gen. tom. 1. ch. 2. tome 3. ch. 69.*

— Quo tibi, Tulli,

Sumere depositum clavum, ferique tribuno ?

Invidia accrevit, privato quæ minor esset.

Nam ut quisquis insanus nigris medium impediit

crus

Pellibus, ac latum demisit pectore clavum, &c.

Hor. Sat. l. i. sat. 6. *.

THE military habit, called *chlamys*, *paludamentum*, was open, and thrown over the tunic; they fastened it with a clasp upon the right shoulder, to leave the arm at liberty. It was a kind of purple mantle, and generals only had a right to wear it. On going to the army, they went up to the Capitol, clothed in this mantle, to offer their prayers and vows to the gods. On their return, they quitted it, and entered the city in the *toga*.

The habit, called *sagum*, was, on the contrary, common to the officers and sol-

* Poor Tullius, when compell'd in luckless hour
To quit your purple robe and tribune's power,
A larger share of envy was thy fate,
Which had been lessened in a private state.
For, in black sandals when a coxcomb's drest,
When floats the robe impurpled down his breast,
Instant, "What man is this?" he round him
hears;

And, "Who his father?"

*Fran. Her.
diels.*

diers. They put it on above the cuirass. This was a Gallic habit, a sort of campaign-coat, the use of which the Romans had derived from the Gauls.

WITH the military habit they wore a tunic, close fitted to the body, coming down to the middle of the thigh, and little hose. They put it on only in war, and in the camp. In time of peace, and in the city, they did not commonly wear a sword, or any arms. The Emperors themselves conformed to that custom.

IF Galba infringed it when he arrived at Rome from Spain, to take possession of the empire, and entered the city in the military habit, with a poniard hung to his neck; that equipage rendered him ridiculous in the eyes of the public, he was regarded as a denouncer of terroure, and he thereby still more exasperated the minds of the people, which had been already alienated by divers acts of cruelty, committed against some illustrious persons.

THEY went bare-headed, and without a cane or stick, though they had different sorts of hats, made much like our night-caps; yet they seldom made use of them

except in rainy weather ; often even they covered themselves only with the end of their *toga*.

ALTHOUGH the slaves were commonly clothed like the citizens, except as to shoes and stockings ; yet they were not allowed to wear a hat. Their masters gave it them when they made them free ; hence the hat is become the emblem of liberty.

WHEN Brutus entered into Thrace, Polemocratia, whose husband had possessed a great part of it, and had been assassinated by a faction of his enemies, coming to take refuge in his camp, with her sons and treasures, Brutus sent the young prince to be educated at Cyzicum, and converted the treasures of his mother into money. He would have that money be a monument of the act which he regarded as the most glorious of his life. On one side, it bore his image, and on the other, a hat between two poniards, for a symbol of that liberty which he thought he had re-established ; and the exergue marked the Ides of March, the day on which Cæsar had been killed.

In the early ages, the Romans suffered

ed their hair and beard to grow, contenting themselves with clipping them from time to time. Livy relates, that a soldier of the army of Brennus, having taken by the beard the Senator *Papirius*, who, says he, wore it very long, according to the custom of those times; *Papirius*, striking him with the ivory baton which he held, the soldier immediately killed him, which was the signal for the pillage of the city, and the massacre of those generous magistrates, who, preferring death to a shameful flight, had seated themselves in the curule chair, in the habits of their order, each in the vestibule of his house, waiting, in that posture, the decree that fate should pronounce on Rome and them *.

THE custom of cutting of the hair and beard, began in Rome, according to Pliny, only about the year 454, that one,

* Ad eos velut simulacra versi quum starent, *M. Papirius* unus ex his dicitur Gallo, barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse; atque ab eo initium cædis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos. Post principum cædem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi testa, exhaustis injici ignes. *Tit. Liv. l. 5. c. 41.*

named *Ticinius Menas*, brought thither barbers from Sicily. From that time the Romans accustomed themselves to cut, curl, and perfume their hair, and to wear it short, and shave their beards; till the time of Adrian, who, to cover the excrescences which he had on his chin, revived the custom of letting the beard grow; but they afterwards resumed that of shaving. Cedrenus observes, that *Maurice* shaved his beard after the mode of the ancient Romans *.

YOUNG

* Diodorus Siculus and Tacitus say, that the Germans kept their beards shaven. Otho I. introduced into Germany the custom of letting them grow; and Frederic I. reformed it. After him, only the peasants, and those who designed to bear a mark of having made a voyage to the Holy land, preserved it.

Clodion commanded the French to wear long hair and beards, to distinguish them from the Romans; a custom which lasted till the time of *Lewis the Young*, when they returned to that of shaving their beards. Pasquier, l. 8. c. 9. observes, that under Francis I. they continued to wear their hair long, and shave their beards; but this prince having been unluckily wounded in the head at a tournament, was obliged to be shaved; a custom which was then introduced, and, at the same time, that of wearing the beard. According to M. de Voltaire, Pope Julius II. was the first
who

YOUNG people tucked up their hair, and plaited it like the women, till they had taken the viril robe. Then they cut off their hair. They threw a part of it into the fire in honour of Apollo, and the other into the water, in honour of Neptune, because the growth of the hair arises from humidity and heat.

FOR the first growth of the beard, they preserved it carefully. They consecrated it to some divinity; to Apollo, Jupiter, Venus,

who let his beard grow, by that singularity to inspire the people with new respect. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings, followed that example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers, &c. *Hist. gen. tome 4. ch. 100.* Under Lewis XIII. they insensibly took up the custom of shaving, which now is known to be generally received in Europe. *Peter the Great* introduced it into his dominions towards the end of the last century; he ordained, that gentlemen, merchants, and all his other subjects, except priests and peasants, who would keep their beards, should pay an hundred rubles annually for them, and the common people a copeck. A commissary was placed at the gates of the towns to receive that tax.

The Russians long regarded this regulation as vexatious, and tending to the ruin of religion. These prejudices gave birth to several writings, wherein the
Czar

Venus, &c. Some began to shave as soon as they assumed the *toga virilis*. The greater part waited the age of twenty-one or twenty-two years, contenting themselves with clipping off such hairs as grew too long : but at whatever time it was, it was a day of ceremony, of feasting, and rejoicing. They sent presents, and regaled their relations and friends.

OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS having waited the age of twenty-five before he shaved his beard, and designing to celebrate that day with magnificence, gave a feast to all the people : but instead of thereby attracting applauses, he only renewed complaints. *Sextus Pompeius* spreading his fleets along the coast, intercepted the usual convoys of wheat, and brought on a dearth at Rome and in Italy : the people demanded that Octavius should make peace with Sextus. But, on the contra-

Czar was treated as a tyrant and Pagan ; and there were many old men amongst them, who, conforming to the edict, most carefully preserved their beards, that they might have them placed with them in their coffins, fearing that they could not enter heaven without them. For the young people, they followed this new custom with the less reluctance, as they found it to the taste of the fair sex.

ry, he, in concert with Antony, laid on new taxes to continue the war. Far then from gaining the affection of the public by that largess, they found that an excessive and useless expense was very unreasonable at a time that the citizens wanted bread.

WE know that the ancient philosophers let their beards grow, less at first from affectation than through indifference. In the sequel they took great care of them, as a mark of distinguishing wisdom. The beard contributed to compose that serious and severe air which the philosophers affected. Lucian rallies them for endeavouring to surpass each other in length of beard. He speaks of a learned man, who, aspiring to a chair in philosophy, was looked upon as incapable to fill it, because his beard was too short.

UNDER the Emperors, the Romans began to wear a sort of perriwigs. Otho had a caul of fine skin furnished with some rounds of hair, and fitted so justly to the head, that it resembled natural hair. They regarded baldness as a deformity, and that introduced the use of perriwigs.

DOMITIAN

DOMITIAN becoming early bald, was so greatly mortified at it, that he took offence if any one rallied another on that subject in his presence. For which reason, Juvenal, designing to paint him in ludicrous colours, calls him *Nero the Bald* *. Nevertheless, Domitian, in a little treatise which he composed on *the care that should be taken to preserve the hair*, which he addresses to a friend, bald like himself, consoles him, and consoles himself with enough of courage on their common disgrace. “Do not you see,” says he, applying to himself the words of Achilles in Homer, “how favourable nature has been
 “to me in point of shape and figure?
 “yet my hair finds the same fate as yours,
 “and I support with constancy the same
 “misfortune, of seeing my locks grow
 “old while I am yet young. This is
 “a lesson which teaches us, that nothing
 “is more agreeable, nor of shorter duration, than such things as serve to adorn
 “us.” M. the Chevalier de Folard, in

* Cum jam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
 Ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni.

Juv. Sat. 4. v. 37.
 his

his notes upon Polybius, b. 3. c. 16. pretends, that the use of perriwigs was already known before the age of Hannibal. "Those," says he, "who refer to the falling off of the hair, that forerunner of the Neapolitan disease, the origin and invention of perriwigs, are mistaken, if they think, that either one or the other of these distempers made not their appearance in the world, till the reign of Charles VIII. These distempers are out of question; but for perriwigs, I think them more ancient than the age of Hannibal; for, by the manner that Polybius expresses himself, it should seem that they were known in his time; and if Hannibal had been the first who wore them, he would not have failed to have told us so. *He caused to be made,* says he, *perriwigs and suitable habits for all the different degrees of age; sometimes he put on one, sometimes another.* He must have been well provided, or else there were perriwigmakers following the camp in those times as we have in ours, who are also shavers. I am astonished, that the learned have not taken notice of this passage of my au-

“ thor, which appears to me remarkable;
 “ for many people have believed, that pe-
 “ rukes are a modern invention *.”

HOWEVER that may be, the use of perriwigs was not introduced among the Romans till the time of the Emperors. It even appears to have been yet unknown in the time of Cæsar. He would have taken advantage of it; since one of the prerogatives which he most valued, was the wearing always a laurel crown. His head was bald before; he could not stand the railleries that were made on that subject †; and it was principally to hide this little defect, that he took pleasure in wearing that crown. For though he was then above fifty-five, he was still

* We must allow, that the use of perukes was known to the ancients; but we may say, in general, that they were very awkward; made of hair, painted and glued together. However that may be, the year 1529 is regarded as the epocha when long perriwigs began to be worn in France.

† The common people were allowed all kind of licentious ribaldry in the croud that attended the chariots of those who triumphed. In one of Cæsar's triumphs, they ran before him crying, *Urbani, servate uxores, mœchum calvum adducimus*. See Sueton. in vit. Cæsar. c. 51.

solicitous

solicitous about his figure. He boasted to have derived from Venus, from whom he pretended to descend, his good mien and elegance of form. In effect, he had a good complexion, a full face, fine black eyes, and very lively; was tall and well-shaped, and very attentive to set off these natural advantages by the improvements of dress.

He was shaved often. He wore, contrary to custom, a flowing tunic, which reached to his heels, and with sleeves, bordered with fringes, descending to his wrists. In his youth, he gave the example to young men of family to wear pendants in the ear; though, till that time, only the ladies had borne them; and only slaves, freed men, and their children, had their ears pierced, to distinguish them from free persons. That mode lasted till the reign of Alexander Severus, who forbade it.

In place of stockings the Romans wrapped their legs in bands of stuff; neither did they commonly wear breeches; only with the military habit, or in their exercises, or mounting on horseback, they put on a sort of drawers. *Cæsar*, in spite of the

poniards aimed at him by the assassins, in spite of the wounds they gave him, and of death inevitable before his eyes, covered his head, lowered and arranged his gown, that he might fall beneath their blows in a modest and decent posture.

THEIR covering for the feet, as well for men as women, was of two kinds. One of them covered the foot something like our shoes, rising to the mid-leg, with an opening from the toe, which was fastened with a riband or lace. The shoe-part of it ended in a point, a little turned up, whence it was called *calceus rostratus* or *repandus*; the other was only a pair of soles, fastened on by leather thongs, tied above the foot, nearly like what we call sandals.

THE curious in dress wore their shoes very tight. They employed cork to heighten them, and raise the stature. *Augustus* wore high-heeled shoes to appear taller. It was the common custom on the stage, and in representation, that required a majestic appearance. Fine ladies made use of them at balls, and priests at sacrifices.

SENATORS, patricians, and even their children,

children, wore, by way of distinction, between the ankle and the instep of the foot, a crescent of gold, silver, or ivory, which served for buckles. This crescent, resembling the letter C, denoted the number one hundred, because the senate in its origin had consisted of but one hundred members.

THE shoes of the military differed from the common sort only by being stronger and fitter for fatigue; the sole was furnished with nails; the whole was a sort of buskin, called *caliga*. The Emperor *Caius* was named *Caligula*, because he had been accustomed to wear it in his youth.

THEY first made use of undressed leather, then of soft skins of different colours, afterwards of woollen, linen, and silk; which they were not long of lading with embroidery, plates of gold, pearls, and precious stones.

PLAUTUS, in his comedies of the *Bacchides*, makes a servant answer his master, who had asked him, whether one Theotimus was rich: "You ask me whether a
"man be rich, when he wears golden
"soles to his shoes?" Luxury did not

stop there : it went so far, that not only the upper part, but the whole shoe was garnished with precious stones. *Heliogabalus* adorned his shoes with stones, engraved by the greatest masters ; as if the workmanship of these skilful artists, which requires to be viewed very near, could shine and be admired upon his feet.

IN fine, nothing was more common in a city, where it had long been a custom to walk barefooted, than to see superb equipages, sedan chairs, litters, chariots, carriages glittering with ivory, silver, and gold, drawn by horses or mules magnificently caparisoned.

AFTER having spoke of the dress of the men, I should also speak of that of the women.

As long as the Romans led a frugal and laborious life, their wives loved work, and imitated their example. " They took care," says Columella, " of the domestic affairs. The husbands, after having discharged those without, free from all cares, re entered their houses, and there enjoyed perfect repose. There reigned union and concord, and industry, supported by mutual and reciprocal affection.

“fection. The woman who shone the-
 “most by her beauty, depended for dis-
 “tinction only on her œconomy, and by
 “her attention to assist in crowning her
 “husband’s diligence with prosperity.
 “All was in common between them, and
 “nothing was thought to belong more to
 “one than another; striving to promote
 “the same end, and interests common to
 “both; the wife, by her assiduity and
 “activity within doors, equalled and se-
 “conded the industry and labour of the
 “husband without.”

THE ladies, even of the first rank, em-
 ployed themselves in domestic cares, which
 they shared with their slaves. Real mothers
 of their family, they preferred their duties
 to pleasures, and solid virtue to the vain
 glitter of dress.

SUCH was *Cornelia*, the daughter of the
 great *Scipio*, and mother of the *Gracchi*.
 Charged singly, after her husband’s death,
 with the management of her house, and
 the education of her family, she applied
 to it with so much care, that her children,
 though born with the happiest talents and
 best dispositions, were thought to owe still
 more to education than to nature.

THE answer which she gave to a lady of Campania, is highly celebrated. That lady being come to visit, and make some stay with her, displayed, with great pomp, a long detail of all the rich and fashionable apparatus of the toilette; gold, silver, trinkets, diamonds, bracelets, necklaces, pearls, ear-rings, &c. and all that equipage which the ancients called *mundus muliebris*. She expected to find *Cornelia* possessed of much more, and earnestly demanded to see her toilette. *Cornelia* artfully diverted the conversation till the return of her children from the public schools; and when they were come, "See," says she, presenting them to the lady, "see here my ornaments, and my "jewels."

BUT the taste of luxury having stifled, at Rome, the ancient industry and simplicity of manners, the women took no other care than that of refining upon all those vain ornaments of dress, of which their ancestors were ignorant. Can we wonder at it, when many of the men equalled, and even surpassed them in effeminacy?

SENECA says, that there were some who
made

made a serious occupation of dressing their hair, who consumed whole hours at their toilette, who held a council about each particular lock, who lost all temper at the smallest negligence of the bath-keeper, and grew outrageous on the subject of one disordered hair, a curl ill placed, or a tower inelegantly formed.

OTHO plucked out the hairs of his beard one by one, and applied bread dipped in milk, to his face, to preserve his complexion fresh and smooth. "This is "an exploit worthy of a great captain," says Juvenal *, "to spread a poultice of "bread upon the face, which was never "done by *Semiramis*, armed with her "quiver, nor by *Cleopatra*, dismayed by "the loss of the battle of Actium." It is a thing worthy to be preserved in the annals, that an emperor had a toilette and mirror in his baggage. The prince con-

* Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam,
Et curare cutem summi constantia civis ;
Bebriaci in campo spoliū affectare palati,
Et pressum in faciem digitis extendere panem :
Quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata *Semiramis* orbe,
Mœsta nec Actiaca fecit *Cleopatra* carina.

Juv. Sat. 2. v. 104.
templated

templated his figure completely armed, before he gave orders to advance the standards and begin the battle.

CÆSAR, at the battle of Pharsalia, commanded the cohorts of his corps de reserve, not to dart their half-pikes, but to strike at the faces of the cavalry, *Miles faciem feri*; thinking, that this gay band, solicitous to preserve their graceful mien, would fear a wound there more than any other, and so be easily routed. The success answered his expectation. The surprise, the glittering of the steel in their eyes, the horror of wounds, which threatened hideous deformity, all together struck such terrour amongst these young cavaliers, that, instead of fighting, they clapped their hands before their faces, and very soon, by a shameful flight, made way for the victory, which raised Cæsar to be master of the world.

THE Roman ladies usually went to bath when they arose, and from the bath to the toilette. We know not from any authors what was the precise form or decorations of it: but who does not know that vanity and gallantry introduce the same weaknesses and the same passions in all ages;

ages ; that self-love finds equal resources in all countries ; that the love of admiration is natural to the sex ; and that the distinction of time and place affects the mode and the desire of appearing agreeable only by the degrees of more or less ?

It is probable, that the condition of a Roman lady was much the same as that of our women of quality. Surrounded with her women, she did nothing for herself. When Claudian draws us a Venus at her toilette, he places her in a splendid chair, surrounded by the Graces, and often herself employed in composing an head-dress.

A LADY at her toilette never lost sight of her glass : whether she herself conducted the *workmanship* * of her charms ; or whether she there practised the manage-

* From the choice of the word *ouvrage*, and indeed from all that is here said of the Roman ladies, it is easy to discover the country of Mons. d'Arnay. The whole passage is so rough, that the translator has Englished it with great reluctance ; and more it would have cost him, had he not reflected, that not one British lady can possibly understand what either of them can mean.

ment of the eyes, the studied negligence of attitude, the expressive toss of the head; or whether, in fine, she turned her attention to change or repair the very features of her face, the mirrour was a necessary counsellor*.

COQUETTES often threw the fault of their ugliness upon their waiting-maids, and fell into outrageous passions against them. The toilettes of some, according to Juvenal, were not less redoubtable than the tribunal of the tyrants of Sicily. What offence has Psecas committed? says this poet, speaking to one of those wo-

* Our mirrours are known to be a modern invention. In the thirteenth century the Venetians were the only people who had the secret. It is pretended, that it was not till the fifteenth that they came into common use. The mirrours of the ancients were of metal, brass, &c. smooth and polished. It is said, Exod. xxxviii. 8. that Moses made a laver of brass of the looking-glasses of the women which assembled at the door of the tabernacle. Some commentators pretend, that these mirrours were of crystal, and set in brass. But the rabbins agree, that, amongst the Hebrews, women made use of mirrours of brass; and that the women there mentioned, gave Moses their mirrours to make that laver.

men :

men: of what crime is that unhappy girl guilty, if your nose displeases you *?

THE desire of going to the temple of Isis, that convenient deity, who presided over assassinations and the mysteries of intrigue, occasioned also extreme impatience; and the precautions necessary to be taken to evade the vigilance of jealous and suspicious husbands, cost them no less care and inquietude. They had not all the same complaisance with that *Sulpicius Galba*, who fell regularly asleep every afternoon that *Mæcenæ* visited his wife. One day a servant wanted to take advantage of his slumber, to appropriate a bottle of excellent wine from the buffet: Galba awaked, and said to him, *Heus tu puer, non omnibus dormio*: “Soho! my lad, “I do not sleep for every body.” It was, indeed, fair enough that he slept for his wife.

* *Præfectura domus Sicula non mitior aula.——*
Componit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis,
Nuda humeros Psecas infelix, nudisque mam-
millis.——

Quid Psecas admisit? quænam est hic culpa
puellæ,

Si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? ——

Juv. Sat. 6. v. 485. 489. 490. 493. 494.

THE multifarious business of the toilette had greatly increased the number of the women that waited on the Roman ladies. Each of them had her particular charge; some were appointed to the hair, and had the whole task of combing, curling, shading, knotting, &c.; others had the perfumes; others, again, had in their department, the curling-irons, needles, bodkins, pearls, jewels, ear-rings, ribands, fillers, cosmetics, paint, &c.; in a word, the whole business of head-dressing, and face-making; and all had names expressive of their different employments; hence the words, *ornatrices*, *pssecades*, *cosmetæ*, &c.

SOME were idle, and posted only to give their advice. These last formed a council; and the affair, says Juvenal, was as seriously treated on, as if reputation, or life itself, had been at stake. Of this number were those women that the Roman ladies kept about them, called *parasitæ* *, whose business it was to flatter them upon their beauty, their taste, their dress, trinkets, furniture, &c.

* The representatives of this unfortunate race are in England called *road-eaters*.

THEY made use of combs of box or ivory; they had bodkins and needles of different kinds, gold, or silver. Instead of curling-tongs, they made use of a great needle, round which they rolled the hair in buckles, and fixed the curl with a needle of ordinary size.

THE Roman ladies dressed always in their hair; there was no difference but in the manner of arranging it. In the early ages, on the contrary, they never went out uncovered with a veil, but that mode went out with the simplicity of manners; and if, in later times, they did make any use of the veil, it was with a view of heightening their charms. *Poppea*, says Tacitus, never appeared in public but shaded with a gauze, which half covered her face, whether she thought it made her more beautiful, or that it attracted the attention of the curious.

THE fashion of dressing the head was at that time infinitely various; it kept pace with the inconstancy of the ladies, and of the mode. They stuck in their hair bodkins, loaded with pearls; they knotted them with little chains and rings of gold, with purple, or white ribands,

enriched with precious stones, and they wore rich ear-rings of gold and pearls. Horace speaks of a debauchee who drank at a meal, a goblet of vinegar, in which he had dissolved a pearl of a million of sesterces, (125,000 livres), which hung at the ear of his mistress *.

It appears that they wore very high head-dresses. With the help of borrowed hair, they surrounded the head with so many tresses, knots, and curls, disposed in different stories and towers, that the whole formed a sort of building. Sometimes they gave their hair a military air; the form of a helmet, or the figure of a buckler. They had also head-dresses ready mounted, a kind of perukes. For the ornament of a single head, there was often need of the spoil of many others.

THE mitre was also another kind of head-dress; it was the same to the women as the hat to the men. More divided than the mitre we are acquainted with, like it, it had two pendants fastened below the chin. This ornament fell off by degrees. Women of any modesty grew ashamed to wear it.

* Hor. Sat. l. 2. sat. 3.

THERE were some ornaments for the head, which were regarded as a mark of modesty and virtue. One of these was a pretty broad riband, with which the women filleted up their hair, and then formed it into knots behind. Ovid calls it *insigne pudoris*. There were some also which were peculiar to particular families. But it is to be believed, that these marks of distinction were soon confounded, and kept nothing but an empty name.

LIGHT-coloured hair was most in fashion; both the men and women dyed it to make the colour more lively. They perfumed it, and applied essences to give it lustre. Sometimes they covered it with gold dust, to make it still more brilliant. That mode came from Asia. Josephus says, that it was much practised amongst the Jews. The Emperors *Verus* and *Galienus* followed it. The hair of *Commodus*, according to Herodian, was become so fair and shining, that when he was in the sun, his head appeared all on fire.

THAT dye, and that dust, were the only means in use among the ancients, to set off their hair. They knew nothing of our powder; no ancient authors mention

it. The fathers of the church, who reproach the women with all the various artifices they used to heighten their charms, take no notice of powder; nor is it spoke of in any of the old romances, which enter into such minute details on the finery of both sexes. We find nothing of it in old portraits, although the painters of them always represented persons as they were clothed and dressed*.

THE face did not exact less art and care than the hair. We find in Ovid a receipt for a cosmetic, which he gave the Roman ladies.

*Vetches and beaten barley let them take,
And with the whites of eggs a mixture make;
Then dry the precious paste with sun and wind,
And into powder very gently grind.*

* We read in Brantome, that *Margaret de Valois*, who was mortified with having very black hair, had recourse to all sorts of artifices to soften the colour. If powder had been then in use, she would have spared herself all that pains. The first of the French writers who has spoke of powder, is *L'Etoile*, in his journal, under the year 1593. He relates, that nuns were seen walking the streets of Paris powdered and curled. From that time, powder came into fashion in France by degrees, and from thence passed into the other countries of Europe.

*Get hartshorn next, (but let it be the first
That creature sheds), and beat it well to dust;
Six pounds in all. Then mix and sift them well,
And think the while how fond Narcissus fell.
Six roots to you that pensive flower must yield,
To mingle with the rest, well bruis'd and cleanly
peel'd.*

*Two ounces next of gum and thural seed,
And let a double share of honey last succeed.
With this, whatever damsel paints her face,
Will, brighter than her glass, see every grace *.*

Anonym.

PLINY speaks of a wild vine-tree, which
the Greeks call ἀμπέλως ἀγρία, with thick

- * Hordea, quæ Libyci ratibus misere coloni,
Exue de palea tegminibusque suis.
Par ervi mensura decem madefiat ab ovis :
Sed cumulent libras ordea nuda duas.
Hæc ubi ventosas fuerint ficcata per auras ;
Lenta jube scabra frangat asella mola.
Et, quæ prima cadunt vivaci cornua cervo,
Contere : in hæc solidi sexta face assis eat.
Jamque ubi pulvereæ fuerint confusa farinæ,
Protinus in cribris omnia cerne cavis.
Adjice Narcissæ bis sex sine cortice bulbos,
Strenua quos puro marmore dextra terat :
Sextantemque trahat gummi cum semine Thusco.
Huc novies tanto plus tibi mellis eat.
Quæcumque adficiet tali medicamine vultum,
Fulgebit speculo levior ipsa suo.

Ovid. medicamina faciei, v. 53.

leaves,

leaves, and approaching to white, the twigs of which are knotty, and the bark commonly broken ; it produces, says he, some red grains, with which they dye scarlet. These grains being squeezed and bruised with the leaves of the vine, perfectly cleanse the complexion and the skin.

I HAVE known some women again, says Ovid, who bruised poppies in cold water, and applied it to their cheeks. Fabula, says Martial, was afraid of the rain, because of the chalk which was upon her face ; and Sabella, of the sun, because of the ceruse with which she was painted. The same author speaks of a depilatory plaster, which took off the little hairs from the cheeks. Plautus makes mention of a red which the women made use of ; he calls it *purpurissum*. They were also acquainted with the use of white, but they were ignorant of patches.

SOME plumped up their faces with bread dipped in asses milk. *Poppæa* made use of an unctuous paint, which formed a crust, which was left on some time. It was brought off with milk ; it softened the skin, and heightened the whiteness of the complexion. That crust formed a mask,

mask, which the women wore coming and going within doors; it was, properly speaking, their *domestic face*, and the only one that was known to the husband. This mended complexion; that bloom of the skin was only for the lovers *.

POPPÆA, who brought this paint into fashion, and who gave it her name, had following her, even in her exile, a troop of she-ashes; and would have had them with her, says Juvenal †, if she had gone to the hyperborean pole; every day they milked 500 asses, to make her a bath to maintain the freshness and whiteness of her skin.

THE Roman ladies were extremely careful of their teeth; most part washed them with water, others made use of a composition which came from Spain, into which there entered urine. They cleansed them with little brushes, and tooth-picks; they had some of silver; those of

* Interea fœda aspectu, ridendaque multo

Pane tumet facies, aut pinguis Poppæana

Spirat, et hinc miseri viscantur labra mariti.

Ad mœchum veniet lota cute : quando videri

Vult formosa domi ? *Juv. sat. 6. v. 46c.*

† Id. *ibid.* v. 468.

the wood of the lentisk were regarded as the best.

WE learn from Martial that they had artificial teeth. In an epigram, he advises Maximina never to laugh: "Thou hast only three teeth," says he, "and these are of box, varnished over. Thou shouldst fear to laugh. Take an air more severe than the wife of Priam, or the eldest of his fair daughters. Shun the postures and jests of Philistion, and all that may give occasion to open the mouth. It becomes thee only to look on the tears of an afflicted mother, the lamentations of a wife who has just lost her husband, of a sister who weeps for the misfortunes of a brother; the dismal spectacle of a bloody scene. Follow my counsel, O Maximina! weep always if thou art wise." Again, this poet says to Lælia, "If thou art not ashamed of making use of borrowed teeth and hair, yet still thou wilt be embarrassed; what wilt thou do for an eye? there are none of them to be bought." Art had not yet reached this sort of supplement, though it went so far as to repair even the features. That of drawing a
fine

fine eye-brow, and painting it, was already very common. Those who had hollow eyes found means to raise them; they made use of a black powder which they burnt; the perfume or vapour of it had an effect upon the eyes, in opening and making them appear larger.

I HAVE already said, that the tunic, as well as the *toga*, was, amongst the Romans, a dress common both to men and women, with this difference, that the tunic of the women had sleeves, and was longer than that of the men; and not to give it the usual length, was shocking the modesty of the sex, and taking too free an air. Sometimes even the tunic was so close about the neck, and descended so low, that of most women nothing could be seen but the face.

BUT, when luxury had brought in the use of gold and jewels, they began, with impunity, to show more of the neck; vanity gained ground, and the tunics grew shorter; often even the sleeves of them were not sewed from the top of the shoulder to the wrist. They fastened them with clasps, in such a manner however, that one side of the tunic resting on the
left

left shoulder, the other side fell negligently upon the upper part of the right arm.

OVER this tunic the women wore a girdle, whether it served them to keep it up, or to regulate the number and arrangement of its folds. There was an air of grace and dignity in raising the lappet of the tunic, which fell on the right side to the height of the knee in walking. Some made little use of their girdle; they let their tunics trail on the ground; but this was too affected an air of negligence.

The number of tunics insensibly increased amongst the Romans, in that the women followed the example of the men. Their tunics multiplied; it became the fashion to wear three. Taste soon formed the difference between them; the first was a simple shift; the second, a kind of rochet; and the third, having insensibly received more folds, and grown more voluminous, formed, by the help of the ornaments of which it was found capable, a woman's dress, called *stola*, which banished the *toga*, or, at least, left the use of it to the men, and to courtezans.

THE tail of that robe was a train, and
the

the bottom of it embroidered with a broad list of gold or purple. The body of the robe was striped of different colours; the fore-part was close, at least to the waist, the upper part was open, and let the second tunic appear; it was, in all appearance, upon that second tunic that those fillets were applied, with which young people were accustomed to cover their bosoms: they were not long of finding out the art of giving them an elegant form. It even appears, that this garb gave the first idea of bodices, and they were not long of being perfected. Of all the attire of the Roman ladies, the bodice became the most brilliant; it was enriched with gold, pearls, and precious stones.

ABOVE the dress I have just mentioned, the Roman ladies wore a mantle, with an extraordinary long train, which flowed loose from the shoulders, where it was fastened with a clasp, and supported itself at a great distance by its own weight. The upper part commonly rested upon the left arm and shoulder, to give more freedom to the right arm, which the women wore bare like the men, and formed

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thereby

thereby a great number of folds, which gave an air of dignity to that garb.

WE know that linen, woollen, and silk were the materials of all their stuffs; colours made the difference, and varied the price. Thus, on one side the spoils of animals, the simple productions of the earth, the work even of worms; and on another, the shells of the sea, the excrescences of trees, the juice of plants, served for the composition of all cloathing.

THE use of wool unmixed in manufactures and cloathing, was not only the most ancient, but it still subsists. It was only under the Emperors, as I have already said, that the Romans began to be acquainted with the use of linen. During all the time of the republic, they were equally ignorant of that of silk.

DION relates, that *Julius Cæsar*, in some spectacles which he gave the people, covered the whole theatre with sails of silk; as if, by that sumptuous furniture, he designed in some sort to censure the luxury of the Roman ladies. *Tiberius* made the senate pass a decree, not only interdicting the use of gold plate, but also forbidding the

the men to wear habits of silk. *Caligula* wore a sort of purple cloak; he often even appeared in public in a triumphal dress or silken robe: so we cannot wonder, that under the reign of Nero the women had begun to wear them; but there is room to believe, that all the stuffs were mingled, and that till *Heliogabalus*, luxury had furnished not one example of a robe entirely of silk, at least for the men.

THAT Emperor, disdaining the stuffs known amongst the Greeks and Romans, was the first amongst those who began to wear robes of pure silk, dyed purple, and enriched with gold embroidery; tunics of stuff of gold, enriched with precious stones, of so considerable a weight, that he could not help complaining of them, and saying, that he sunk under the burthen of his magnificence.

WE know how rare a merchandise silk was in those times. *Aurelian*, more than fifty years after *Heliogabalus*, had not, according to Vopiscus, one single robe of silk in all his wardrobe; he even refused the Empress his wife a mantle of silk, which was all the favour she asked. “*E*

“shall take care,” says he, “not to buy threads at their weight in gold.” The pound of silk was worth a pound of gold*.

THE common colour of cloaths was white; it was also the most honourable, independent of the dignities which were denoted by the purple. When the ladies began to wear various colours, they chose those which they thought became

* The ancients called robes of silk without mixture, *holoserical* robes, from the Greek word ὅλος, which signifies *all*, and the word σήε, a name which the Greeks gave to silk-worms, from that of Seres, a people of a country in the Indies; now called *Kattai*, amongst whom the art of rearing silk-worms was invented: an art, which began in Europe only under the reign of *Justinian*, that two monks brought from Cerinda, a city of the Indies, eggs of silk-worms to Constantinople, which they hatched in a dunghill, and fed with mulberry-leaves the worms, which taught the whole mechanism of silk. Manufactures of it were set up at Constantinople, then at Athens, at Thebes, and at Corinth. Roger King of Sicily established one at Palermo in 1130. We know, that there are a great number of them in Italy, in France, and elsewhere. Mezeray observes, that Henry II. at the marriage of the Duchess of Savoy, wore the first silk stockings that had been seen in France.

them

them best : it was a precept given them
by Ovid.

*Try every one, what best becomes you, wear ;
For no complexion all alike can bear.
If fair the skin, black may become it best,
In black the lovely fair Briseis dress'd.
If brown the nymph, let her be cloth'd in white,
Andromeda so charm'd the wond'ring sight *.*

Anonym.

THE same poet, far from reducing the whole art of dying to the colour of purple, speaks of a blue, which resembles the sky when it is unclouded ; of a sea-green, which he believes to be the dress of the nymphs ; of the colour which tinctures the apparel of Aurora ; of that which imitates the myrtles of Paphos ; of another like that of the ram which bore Phryxus and his sister Helle, and secured them from the frauds of Ino ; and of many others, in

* ————— Elige certos :

Nam non conveniens omnibus omnis erit.

Pulla decent niveas : Brisaïda pulla decebant ;

Cum rapta est, pulla tum quoque veste fuit.

Alba decent fuscas : albis, Cephei, placebas :

Sic tibi vestitæ pressa Seriphos erat.

Ovid. artis amatoriæ l. 3. v. 187.

fine, as numerous, he says, as the flowers of the spring.

AMIDST the variety of colours, determined in dress by the mode, by particular taste, often even by propriety of rank and condition, the Roman ladies long kept a uniformity in their shoes.

THE womens shoes were commonly white. Under the Emperors, they began to wear red ones. Aurelian permitted them the use of them, and at the same time took it from the men. The ordinance of this prince was by so much the more favourable for the ladies, as he and his successors reserved that colour for themselves, after the example of the ancient kings of Italy. It reigned a long time in the lower empire, and even descended from the emperors of the West to the popes.

THE Roman ladies also made use of slippers and socks. Far from thinking that they were made like ours, it appears, that they were only fillets, which they wrapped round their feet. They were for the most part red: it is probable, that a part of them was visible through the opening of the shoe or buskin, the materials

rials of which were so loose, that, by means of a garter, it was kept up by the upper part, while it was loose upon the leg. It is probable that their garters were nothing but a sort of broad riband of gold or purple, and most commonly white, which were several times crossed upon the leg, and then the ends of them hid.

THE Emperors loaded their shoes with many ornaments: they had embroidered the figure of an eagle, enriched with pearls and diamonds. There is room to believe, that this decoration passed also to the shoes of the ladies, at least to those of the empresses. Besides, precious stones were so common, that, by the relation of Pliny, women of the utmost simplicity and modesty durst no more go without diamonds, than a consul without the marks of his dignity. I have seen, says that author, Lollia Paulina, the wife of Caligula, load herself with jewels, even after her repudiation, not for any ceremony or pompous festival, but for simple visits. The value of them, which she affected to show, amounted to forty millions of sesterces, (five millions of livres). Though they
could

could not be said to be presents of the prince, or jewels of the empire, they belonged to her house, and were part of the effects which descended to her from Marcus Lollius her uncle.

PLINY applies himself to heighten the extravagance of it by the contrast which he presents us of the simplicity of the triumphs of Curius and of Fabricius, compared to the pride of Lollia; yet still, according to him, this was not the highest point of the luxury of those times*.

WITH this taste for jewels, they were fond of necklaces, bracelets, and ornamental rings. The men wore of them. Till that time they had been contented with a simple ring of iron or gold, according to the difference of fortune. The

* Pearls were in much higher esteem amongst the ancients than they are amongst us; and diamonds were very rare, till the trade to the Indies commenced. The ancients were even ignorant of the art of cutting them in facets, and polishing them. *Louis de Berquin* was the first who discovered it in 1476. But for fine stones, they were not so rare; they knew how to employ them, and to engrave them perfectly well, both hollow and in relief.

gold

gold ring was, for a long time, a mark of distinction, annexed to the dignity of a Roman knight. The senators also had a right to wear them. At first, according to Pliny, it was only when they were sent on embassies. There is reason to believe, that those of the knights had something particular to distinguish them in after times. This right became common to all the Roman citizens. The Emperors even often conferred it upon their freed men.

THEY put this ring upon the finger next the little one. Luxury added a fine stone, upon which was engraved the seal, which for a long time served instead of a signature. Amongst the Romans, they made use of it to seal their letters, and they set it at the bottom of their acts and testaments. *Augustus* had at first a Sphinx, and afterwards took the image of Alexander the Great; *Mæcenæ*s had a frog, *Galba* a dog upon the prow of a ship. These were not what we call armorial bearings; the Romans had none of them. It appears, that they did not begin to become hereditary in families till the return
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of the croifades, and that the colours of the blazon took rife from the cuiraffes of the croifers, which were differently coloured*.

WE fee in *Cicero*, that in his time the feal ftill ferved for a fignature. The method of figning was introduced under the Emperors. One day that a fentence of death was prefented to *Nero* to be figned, "Would to heaven," faid he, "that I knew not how to write!" *Vellem nefcire literas*, with that tone of clemency, and air of compaffion which he affected in the beginning of his reign.

IN fine, in proportion as the mode of wearing rings gained ground, they increafed the number of them. They put them upon the finger next the thumb,

* It appears by the feals of the empire fet to divers acts, that, in the thirteenth century, the Emperors had yet no eagle in their feal; and *Albert of Strafburg* relates in 1347, as a new introduction, *et contra morem antecessorum*, that *Clement the Fourth*, called *Guido Fulcodius*, or *Guido Groffus*, of French extraction, elected Pope in 1265, and who died in 1268, had put into the feal of a bull, the five rofes which were the emblem of his family.

then upon the little one, and insensibly upon them all; sometimes even more than one upon the same finger; insomuch that it seemed, says Pliny, that they endeavoured to attract respect by the weight and number of the rings with which they rather loaded than adorned their fingers. They changed them according to the seasons; they had light rings for summer, and heavier ones, loaded with larger stones, for winter.

C H A P. V.

Of the laws against celibacy. Of degrees of consanguinity. Of the equality of rank. And of the consent of parents to marry. Of marriage-contrasts. Of the portion. Of the marriage-ceremonies. Of the dress. Of the attendants; and of the entrance of the bride into the house of her husband. Of the marriage-feast. Of the epithalamium. Of divorces. Of adultery. Of second marriages. Of concubines; and of polygamy.

THE Romans, in the view of multiplying the number of citizens, not only rewarded those who married, but also decreed penalties against those who remained in a state of celibacy. The censors, when they numbered the people, were accustomed to interrogate each married citizen. The question they asked them, was conceived in these terms, *Ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes liberum querendorum causa?* "Upon your faith have you a wife whereby to have children?" He who

who had a barren wife, was obliged to repudiate her; and those who had none, paid a fine *. Sometimes they were even degraded from their tribe, and registered in one less honourable.

IN the tribunals, the first question which the judge asked those who came to make oath, was this, *Ex animi tui sententia tu equum habes? tu uxorem habes?* "Upon your "faith, have you a horse? have you a "wife?" If they did not give pertinent answers upon these two preliminary articles, they were not admitted to give their testimony.

YET a fondness for celibacy still prevailed at Rome. We find, that, in the year 518 of its foundation, the censors, upon an occasion of numbering the people, made all the young citizens swear to marry.

CÆSAR, to repair the loss of so many citizens that the civil wars had swept off, made several regulations. He promised rewards to fathers of families. He forbade all citizens of above twenty years of age, and under forty, to absent themselves

* That fine was called *as uxorium*. The censors *M. Furius Camillus* and *M. Posthumius* exacted it for the first time, in the year of Rome 350.

from Italy for more than three years, those only excepted who served in the troops. By the same ordinance, no son of a senator could travel out of Italy, unless in company of some magistrate. In fine, as the multitude of slaves was the occasion of preventing the lower people from being employed by the rich, and they, by that means, falling into poverty, perished without marrying and leaving posterity; *Cæsar* ordained, that amongst those who should be destined for the management of cattle, one third at least should be free men.

AUGUSTUS heightened the penalties and the fines against bachelors. After the example of *Cæsar*, he granted rewards and privileges to those who married, and to those who had many children. *Hortensius* received from him a considerable sum, to enable him to marry according to his rank, and that the illustrious family of the *Hortensii* might not end with him. In a review of the people by tribes, he distributed to every father of a family a million of sesterces (about one hundred and twenty-five ^{thousand} livres) for each child.

To facilitate marriages, he permitted all those who were not senators, nor sons

nor grandsons of senators, to marry the daughters of freed men, without these unequal alliances being injurious to those who contracted them or to their children. As many, in the view of evading the penalties imposed on celibacy, made use of a gross fraud, by espousing children under the marriageable age; he forbade any one to contract a girl who was not at least ten years old, in order that the marriage might be celebrated two years after the contract.

AUGUSTUS found many difficulties in the establishment of these laws, which were opposed by public licentiousness, fondness for celibacy, and libertinism. He attained it only by a firmness sustained with prudence and moderation.

IN the games at which he assisted, the Roman knights openly complained of the penalties imposed upon celibacy, and pressed him with loud cries to revoke them. *Augustus* commanded to be brought upon the spot the children of *Germanicus* already numerous, although this young prince was but in his twenty fourth year; and taking some of these tender infants in his arms, placing others upon the knee.

of their father, he showed them to the knights, and thus invited the Roman youth to follow that example *.

He did more: he commanded the whole order of knights to present themselves before him, divided into two bands; on one side those who were married, on the other those who were not. The number of the last being much superiour, he was seized with indignation; he praised those, who, in honourable wedlock, raised up citizens for the republic; he then reprimanded the bachelors with great strength and vehemence; and far from revoking or softening the penalties to which he had before subjected them, he added new ones by a law which the consuls *Papius* and *Poppæus* brought in. One very singular circumstance, and which shews how wide the abuse he wanted to remedy was spread, is, that the two consuls, framers of a law so rigorous against celibacy, were neither of them married. The law was called from their names *Papia Poppæa*, and is very famous in the Roman jurisprudence.

* Suet. in vit. Aug. 34.

TACITUS says *, that it had two objects ; one to punish the bachelors, and the other to enrich the public treasure, to whose profit it confiscated collateral successions, and the legacies which might be left to citizens unmarried. Let us add, that it procured many advantages to fathers of families : they were preferred to employments ; the age necessary to attain them was dispensed with, by taking off so many years as they had children ; they took place of their colleagues ; had distinguished places in the theatre and at the spectacles : lastly, in Rome, fathers of families, who had three children ; in Italy, those who had four ; and in the provinces, those who had five, were exempted from guardianships, from being trustees, and other burthenfome offices †.

* Tacit. annal. l. 3. c. 25.

† This is what is called in the Roman law, the right of three, of four, or of five children : *Jus trium, quatuor, quinque liberorum*. We find it designed in many inscriptions by these letters, I. L. III.; that is to say, *Jus liberorum habens*. This right was greatly sought after : the Emperors gratified with it those that pleased them, without their having children. *Trajan* granted it to the younger *Pliny*, who speaks of it in his letters.

It is this law which makes Plutarch say, that many Roman citizens married rather in the view of acquiring a right to inherit, than to procure heirs. *Constantine*, judging it contrary to the gospel, moderated certain points of it, and abolished others, by taking off the penalties which it imposed upon celibacy.

THE first degree of consanguinity in which it was not permitted to marry, appears to have been that of cousin-german. By a law of the twelve tables marriages between the patricians and the plebeians were forbid. That law could not subsist long in a republican state. Accordingly we see that it was abrogated five years after its institution. But all alliances with women of blemished reputations, of base extraction, or born of parents who had exercised vile and abject trades, was still regarded as dishonourable : that with strangers, whatever their condition might be otherwise, was forbid. These descendants of a band of adventurers acknowledged no nobility but that of their own blood. It even appears, that they looked upon those alliances as tending to corrupt the government. We know, that

Antony,

Antony, by his marriage with *Cleopatra*, excited public hatred and indignation; and that *Titus* sacrificed his passion to interests of state, by renouncing *Berenice*.

A CITIZEN was to espouse a citizen: *Si vis nubere, nube pari*. He might also marry in the municipal cities, and in all those of Italy which had the right of freedom at Rome, and even in the countries which had obtained the *jus connubii*, the right of contracting marriages; but if he married any other stranger, he degraded himself; his children were regarded in some sort as bastards, surnamed in contempt, *Ibride*, a name given to animals propagated from different species. Their condition was not much better than that of slaves. That distinction, or rather that stain, was taken off, when *Caracalla* had granted the right of free citizens indifferently to all the nations which composed the Roman empire.

Two conditions were still requisite to marry, ripeness of age, and consent of parents. That of fourteen years for men, and twelve for girls, was looked upon as sufficient; and, to avoid too great a disparity, a woman under fifty years could

not espouse a man of sixty, nor a man above sixty, a woman of fifty. Lastly, the consent of parents was necessary, especially that of the father. A son that had been emancipated, was not subject to these laws, but the daughters were bound by them. They did not exact the obtaining the mother's consent ; it was asked out of decency.

AFTER the consent of parents, they proceeded to the contract. It was accompanied with ceremonies, at which the priests and the augurs assisted. They agreed upon the portion, and other conditions, of which a deed was drawn and executed in presence of witnesses, who set their seal to it. They broke a straw, as in other contracts, which was called *stipulation*, from *-stipula*, a straw. The bridegroom made presents to his bride in money, trinkets, &c. and gave her a ring for a pledge of the friendship which was to unite them *. Both of them gave presents
to

* This ring was called *annulus sponsalitiuus*, *genialis*, or *pronubus*. In the time of Pliny, it was only of iron, and plain ; it was afterwards of gold. The
wife

to those who had negotiated or favoured their marriage. The emperors regulated that these presents should be proportioned to the portion. Lastly, the father, or the nearest relation of the bride, gave a feast.

THE custom was to pay the portion at three terms, fixed by the law : it was delivered in money, or secured upon lands. The husband was not put in possession of it till the marriage-day : he was not permitted to alienate it ; the relations of the wife reclaimed it, in case of divorce, unless it was by her fault. The value of it was not fixed ; it varied according to the rank and fortune of the contractors. If any citizen seduced a free woman, the laws obliged him to marry her without a portion, or to give her one proportioned to her rank.

wife was accustomed to put it on the fourth finger of the left hand, because she believed there was a vein there which went to the heart. There were some also of brass and copper, with the figure of a key, to signify that the husband, in giving that ring to his wife, delivered her the keys of his house, of which it was her business to take care. Some of them have been found with these inscriptions or devices, *Benam vitam. Amo te. Ama me. I wish you a happy life. I love you. Love me.*

IN the first ages of the republic, portions were very small. The daughters of the greatest men, says Valerius Maximus *, often brought nothing in marriage but the glory of their fathers, or of their houses. *Cn. Scipio*, commanding in Spain, solicited his recall from the senate, because he wanted to return to Rome to marry his daughter. The senate, not to deprive the republic of the services of that general, refused his request, charged themselves with the marriage of his daughter, chose her a husband, and assigned her, from the public treasure, a portion of eleven thousand asses, (550 livres). But, as low as portions then were, they afterwards became exorbitant. The sum, says Seneca, that the senate thought sufficient to serve as a portion for the daughter of Scipio, would not suffice the daughters of our freed men to buy a mirror †.

* Lib. 4. c. 4.

† Beatiorefne istos putas, quorum pantomimæ decies fessertio nubunt, quam Scipionem, cujus liberi a senatu tutore suo, in dotem as grave acceperunt? Dedignatur aliquis paupertatem, cujus tam claræ imagines sunt? *Senec. de consolat. ad Helv. c. 12.*

Chap. V. *of the ROMANS.* 251

THEY never made a marriage without having first taken the auspices, and without having offered sacrifices to the gods, especially to Juno, who presided over matrimonial engagements and marriages. They took the gall out of the animals that they sacrificed, alluding to the kindness which ought to reign in marriage.

It was celebrated in three ways, distinguished by the names of *confarreatio*, *coemptio*, *et usus* ; *confarreatio*, *mutual purchase*, and *usage*. The first was the most ancient. *Romulus* had established it. A priest, in presence of ten witnesses, pronouncing certain words, offered in sacrifice to the gods, a cake made of salt, water, and wheat-flour, called *far* : the bride and bridegroom ate of it, to signify by that the union that ought to bind them. That manner of celebrating marriage, gave the wives a right of sharing in the particular sacrifices, attached to the family of their husbands, and even to their goods, if they died intestate, and without children ; if they left any, the wives were equal with them. Children born of these marriages, were preferred for the dignity of the priest of Jupiter.

THE

THE *mutual purchase* was a kind of imaginary bargain, that the bride and bridegroom contracted, by the form of giving each other some pieces of money. This way of marrying subsisted longer than that of *confarreation*, which, according to Tacitus, was no longer practised in the time of Tiberius. According to some authors, it was accompanied with the same ceremonies, and gave the same right to the wives.

THAT which they called *usage*, had place, when a woman, with consent of her parents, or her guardians, had cohabited a whole year with a man, with a view of being married to him: she then became his lawful wife without any other ceremony: it even appears, that she had the same rights as the others.

ALL the days, or even all the months, were not regarded amongst the Romans, as equally fortunate for marriage. They avoided the Calends, the Nones, the Ides, &c. and, in general, all the days marked with black; the month of February, because they made the anniversary of funerals; that of March, during the festival of the Salii; and especially that of May.

The

The month of June, on the contrary, of all the months, was that which they thought most favourable.

PLUTARCH says, that the Romans did not marry in the month of May, because it took its name from aged persons, *majores*, for whom marriage was no longer seasonable; and, for that reason, they referred to the month of June, which takes its name from *juniores*, young people, or because, in the month of May, they made expiations which did not agree with marriage. According to others, it was, because they celebrated in this month the festival *Lemuria*, consecrated to the *Lemures*, which were malignant spirits, whose ill-will they feared. In its origin, this feast was called *Remuralia*, or *Remuria*. *Romulus* had established it to appease the manes of Remus *.

* The custom of not marrying in the month of May, is still in force amongst many people, without their knowing that it comes from the Romans. *M. Astruc* says, that it is received amongst the people of the *Lower Languedoc*. They think it an imprudence which draws on a premature death. To avoid which, they make haste to conclude it in the month of April, or else they wait till the month of June. *Mem. pour l'hist. nat. du Languedoc.*

ON the wedding-day, the bride wore a long white robe, all plain, her hair dishevelled, and intermingled with locks of wool, like the Vestals, whose purity she was to imitate. They tied the extremities of her hair in a javelin point; they arranged and curled it with the steel of a pike. She wore a large flame coloured veil, with a crown of vervain, which she had gathered herself. She had on yellow shoes, in form of pattens, which being higher than ordinary, made her appear taller.

THE bridegroom, accompanied by his relations and friends, came to force her from the arms of her mother, or of one of her nearest relations, and that in memory of the rape of the Sabines; or to signify that kind of repugnance with which it was supposed she ought to quit her abode, to go to that of her husband.

It was night when she was carried thither by the light of flambeaux, followed by her domestics, and attended by her friends and relations, who each carried presents, consisting of different utensils. Three young people, whose fathers and mothers were still living, conducted her;

two supported her under the arms, the third walked before her, bearing a flambeau of pine, which the friends and relations of both parties took care to carry off from before the house of the bridegroom, because of the great virtue attributed to this flambeau, and for fear it should be made use of for some fascination which might shorten the life of one or the other *.

A YOUNG slave carried behind the bride, in an open vase, her toilette, corals, and childrens play-things of every kind; another carried a distaff, furnished with wool and a spindle, to acquaint her that she was to apply herself to spin and work for her family.

LUCRETIA was spinning, surrounded with her women, when being surpris'd by *Sextus* the son of *Tarquin*, and by her husband, *Sextus* conceived for her that criminal passion which was the ruin of his family, and of monarchic government at Rome. *Augustus*, as I have already ob-

* Amongst the Egyptians and Greeks, new-married wives were, on the contrary, conducted to their husbands houses in chariots.

served, after Suetonius, wore almost always a night-gown; and that author relates, that those he made use of were the manufacture of his wife, his sister, his daughter, or his nieces *.

THE door of the house of the bridegroom was adorned with festoons, garlands of flowers and leaves, and lists of woollen, rubbed with oil, and the fat of swine or wolves, to avert enchantments. When the bride arrived thither, they asked her who she was? and she answered, I am *Caia*, to assure him that she would be as good a house-wife as *Caia Cecilia*; or else she announced herself in these terms; *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia*; “There where “you shall be *Caius*, I shall be *Caia*,”

* Pliny, upon the authority of Varro, says, that the distaff and spindle of the Queen *Tanaquil*, also called *Caia Cecilia*, was, in the time of that author, still in the temple of *Sancus*; that she had woven a waved robe of woollen, spun by herself, for *Servius Tullius*, which was still in the temple of Fortune; and he adds, that it is in memory of so good a housewife, that the new-married women carried a distaff and spindle with them into the house of their husband, to signify to him that they intended to imitate her. *Plin. hist. nat. l. 8. c. 48.*

that

that is to say, where you shall be master and father of the family, I shall be mistress and mother of the family.

THEY lifted her over the threshold of the door, that she might appear to enter the house of her husband involuntarily, and that it might presage, at the same time, that she should not go out of it otherwise; or to represent the rape of the Sabines; or, lastly, because the threshold was consecrated to *Vesta*, the goddess of virgins, and because it would have been an evil omen if the bride had touched or trampled it under foot. They sprinkled her with water, to denote purity and chastity. They gave into her hands the keys of the house, to let her know that the management of the family-affairs was committed to her care. They seated her upon a sheep's skin, to put her in mind that she ought to work, and employ herself in spinning of wool. They made her touch water and fire as well as her husband; either that the ancients believed that every thing springs from these two elements, or to denote the intimate union of the conjugal tie, and that they should never abandon each other, though

they had no other subsistence than fire and water*.

THE bridegroom feasted his relations and friends, those of his bride, and her attendants. He was placed at the head of the table, and the bride was laid in his bosom. This feast was distinguished by the abundance, the variety, and the delicacy of the meats. The sumptuary laws, which limited the expense of meals, gave an allowance for marriage-feasts.

It was accompanied with music: the guests sung, to the honour of the new-married couple, an *epithalamium* which began and ended by acclamations, in which was often repeated the name of *Thalassius*. Here is the origin of it.

AMONGST the Sabine women, there was one who was remarkable for her youth and beauty: her ravishers, fearing that she would be taken from them, thought of crying, that they led her to *Thalassius*.

* The ancient Latins, and, in imitation of them, the Romans of the first ages, observed also another ceremony; they put a yoke about the neck of the new-married couple, in token of that which they had taken upon themselves by marriage, and from thence came the words *conjugium* and *conjug*.

This

This was a young man of distinguished beauty and courage; and his name alone inspired so much respect, that, far from thinking of the least violence, the people respectfully accompanied those who carried her along, echoing incessantly the same name. A marriage which chance had so suitably disposed, could not fail of being happy. It was happy; and the Romans from that time employed in their *epithalamia* the word *Tbalassius*, as if to wish the new-married couple an equal destiny*.

To

* We know that the word *epithalamium* comes from the Greek word *ἐπιθαλάμιον*, which signifies nuptial-song. The Greeks gave it this name, because the word *θαλάμος* signified the nuptial bed and apartment, at the door of which they sung the *epithalamium*. Instead of the name of *Tbalassius*, the Greeks employed that of *Hymen*; and this, according to Servius, ad *Æn.* 1. is the origin of that acclamation.

Hymen, whom the Greeks afterwards made a god, presiding over marriage, was a young man of Athens, or of Argos, of exquisite beauty, born poor, and of an obscure family. He was smitten with the charms of a young Athenian, of great birth and fortune. The disproportion was too striking, to leave him the least hope; yet, under favour of a disguise,

To the *epithalamium* and acclamations, they joined songs, which were called *fescennin verses*, gross and obscene, but authorised by unalterable custom. Young people sung them before the apartment of the new married pair *.

disguise, he followed her every where. One day he attended her as far as *Eleusis*, with the Athenian girls of the best families, who went to offer sacrifices to Ceres. It happened, that they were carried off by pirates, who having landed in a desert isle, fell asleep. Hymen seized the occasion, killed the pirates, returned to Athens, and declared, that if they permitted him to marry her he loved, he would also bring back the others. He brought them back, in effect, and became the happiest of husbands. From thence, the Athenians ordained, that he should be invoked in the solemnities of marriage with the gods whom they regarded as the protectors of it. His name serving for acclamation, passed afterwards into the *epithalamium*, and the poets made of it an intercalary verse, or burthen of the song.

* The Latin word *fescenninus* is formed, according to Macrobius, from *fascinum*, charm, incantment, &c. The people thought that the fescennin verses served to avert and hinder the effect of fascinations. According to others, these verses had their name from their authors, the inhabitants of *Fecennia*, a city of *Hetruria*, now called *Galea*, in the Ecclesiastic state.

THAT

THAT apartment was adorned with statues, representing the divinities which were thought to preside over marriage. The bride was conducted to it by matrons, called *pronubæ*, who laid her in her bed, placed opposite to the door, and covered with flowers. If it had before served that purpose, they changed the place of it, that the bride might not be exposed to the same misfortunes which had happened to the persons who had occupied it before her.

THE bridegroom, before he went thither, threw nuts amongst the children, to signify, that he quitted their plays; and the brides consecrated their babies to Venus. The guests, when they retired, received some little presents from the bridegroom.

THE day after the marriage, he gave a feast, called *repotia*. The friends and relations of the new-married woman sent her presents. She offered a sacrifice in the house of her husband, to render the gods propitious.

MARRIAGE was not indissoluble amongst the Romans. By a law of *Romulus*, the husband might repudiate his wife,
if

if she had made use of poison to destroy her children, if she had given him supposititious ones, if she had violated the conjugal faith, if she had made false keys, and even if she had drunk wine, &c. In all these cases, the husband assembled the nearest relations of his wife to sit in judgment with him; and he was obliged to present himself before the censors, and make oath, that it was for legitimate causes that he demanded a divorce; but, if he repudiated his wife for any other cause, he was bound to give her a part of her own goods; another part was consecrated to Ceres; and he was to offer a sacrifice to the gods *Manes*.

THAT law was hard and unjust, in so far as it was not reciprocal; but it became so by a law of the twelve tables, which put the wives on an equal footing with their husbands in that respect.

THEY proceeded to a divorce by the consent of both parties, or at the instance of either of them that demanded it. It was to be concluded in presence of seven citizens. The contract of marriage was dissolved, and the divorce inscribed in the registers of the censors. The husband resumed

sumed the keys which he had given his wife. He restored to her her dowery, and her goods, if the divorce was made without any fault of hers. On the contrary, he retained a part of the portion, or a sixth part for each child, if she was culpable; but, if it was for infidelity, he kept the whole dowery and the marriage presents, although he had no children by her. When there were children, the custom was, that each of the parties settled, by form of testament, a proportionable part of their fortune. If the wife was present, the husband, or a freed man, declared the divorce in these terms, *Res tuas tibi habeto*; "Take to yourself what belongs to you;" or, *Tuas res tibi agito, exi, &c.* "Take care of your own affairs; go hence, &c." If she was absent, it was notified to her in writing*.

IT

* At first, divorces were accompanied with ceremonies; which differed, according to the manner that the marriage had been contracted. If they had been made by the *confarreation*, they offered a sacrifice, which they called *diffarreation*. If it had been by the *mutual purchase*, the divorce was made by a
fort

It is remarked, to the honour of the Romans, that more than four ages elapsed, without any complaint or process amongst them, on account of adultery or divorce. In the year of Rome 457, some ladies, accused of adultery; were condemned to fines, which they employed to build a temple to Venus; and it was not till the year 521, that they saw the first divorce. *Sp. Carvilius Ruga* repudiated his wife, because she was barren. He loved her much, and determined himself to it only out of respect to the oath which he had taken in common with the other citizens, to marry in order to have children. However specious this motive was, he did not escape the indignation of all Rome, which pursued him to the end of his days.

THIS example however was followed, and divorces were not long of multiplying, upon the slightest pretexts and allegations. *Paulus Æmilius* repudiated *Papiria*, with-

out fort of release, called *remancipation*. And for the marriages by *usage*, they were dissolved, when the wife, before the end of the year, had passed three nights successively out of her husband's house, and without his knowledge.

out

out any one's being able to guess the reason. "Is not your wife wise? is she not fair? has she not brought you fine children?" said his friends to him. All the answer he gave them, was shewing them his shoe, and questioning them in his turn: "This shoe," said he to them, "is it not fine? is it not well made? but none of you knows where it pinches me."

C. SULPICIUS GALLUS turned away his wife for having appeared bare-headed in public. *Sempronius Sophus* separated from his, because she had whispered a freed woman. *Q. Antistius Vetus* did the same, because his wife had gone to the spectacles without his knowledge. There were even some men who designedly took women of ill principles, that they might find occasion to repudiate them, and gain by that the portion which they had brought.

THE women made as bad a use of divorce. They deserted their husbands without cause or reason. Seneca * says, that

* Seneca says, they were women of quality.
Namquid jam ulla repudio erubescit, postquam illustres
 Z *quædam*

that there were some who no longer reckoned the years by the consuls, but by the number of their husbands. Thus, on the least caprice, the least subject of disgust or complaint, a husband repudiated his wife, and a wife quitted her husband. The expedient of separation was always at hand. They flattered themselves with better success on another trial, and passed without remorse from one engagement to another.

THE wisest authorised that licence by their example. *Cato* gave up *Martia* his wife to *Hortensius*: he had had several children by her; and she was actually with child, when *Hortensius* took it in his head to demand her. Some time afterwards *Hortensius* dying, and leaving *Martia* to inherit his great wealth, in prejudice of his son, *Cato* retook her.

CICERO separated from *Terentia* by divorce, because of her hasty and imperious temper; and because, that, being fond of expense, she had neglected and disordered

quædam ac nobiles feminae non consulum numero, sed maritorum annos suos computant? Senec. de benef. l. 3. c. 16.

his

his domestic affairs. He had lived with her more than thirty years, and she had brought him two children, whom he loved with the greatest tenderness. He espoused *Publia*, a young heiress, whose guardian he had been; he repudiated her afterwards, on account of some harshness she had shewn to *Tullia*, and for some marks of joy which she had testified at her death.

THE liberty of divorcing, far from procuring any advantage to the married state, on the contrary, served only mutually to augment the obstinacy and asperity of married persons, and to sow division and troubles in families. *Augustus* wanted to restrain it; and he subjected to penalties divorces made without legitimate causes. He also made a law concerning adulteries.

WE do not know with certainty the precise purport of that law. If a husband who had surprised his wife, gave way to his rage so far as to kill her and her gallant, he was not punished by the laws. That of *Augustus* permitted the father of the wife to put her to death. It appears, that it also bore the pains of fines, of whip-

ping, of banishment, of confinement in an island, of mutilation, &c.

BUT whatever were the regulations of that law, and the attention of Augustus to cause them to be observed, they wanted that authority which is given by example. Instead of authorising them by his conduct, we know, that he had commerce with many women; even his friends allowed it, and excused him only under the frivolous pretext, that it was not through any taste for debauchery, but only through policy, that he might discover the plots which were secretly hatched against him.

HE repudiated *Scribonia* the very day she was delivered of the famous *Julia*; and immediately thought of espousing *Livia*, who was married to *Tiberius Nero*, and six months gone with child. To get over that obstacle, he consulted the college of the pontiffs upon that singular question, Whether a woman in the condition of *Livia*, might lawfully be married? The pontiffs answered, like skilful casuists, That if the father of the child could be doubted, it was not permitted; but as the condition of a child conceived in lawful

ful matrimony was ascertained after six months pregnancy, there was no difficulty in the case proposed. *Augustus* married her, and three months afterwards, *Livia* brought forth a son, who was named *Drusus*. *Augustus* did not fail to send the child to *Tiberius Nero*, as to him who was the father of it; but he could not by that precaution hinder people from believing that it was his; and a Greek verse was handed about, the sense of which is, "The
 "fortunate have children three months
 "after marriage."

NOTWITHSTANDING the great number of divorces, and the facility of making them, second marriages were not in honour. Maids, says *Plutarch*, never married on festivals, nor widows on working-days, because marriage was honourable to the one, and seemed not to be so to the others; for which reason they celebrated the marriage of maids in presence of a great number of people; that of widows, in presence of few, and on days that every one's attention was called off to other spectacles.

WE see, in *Propertius*, a lady valuing

herself upon having had only one husband, and wanting to have it engraved upon her tomb. The same eulogium appears in many inscriptions, where we find the epithet of *univira*, given by way of honour to widows who had not married again. They had the first place in certain solemn ceremonies. They decreed them the crown of chastity, and it was only they who were allowed to enter into the chapel of that divinity. Not but there were many widows at Rome who ventured on second marriages. *Fulvia*, before she married Mark Antony, had had for her first husband *Clodius*, the enemy of *Cicero*, and for her second *Curio*, who perished in Africa, in the party of *Cæsar*, before the battle of Pharsalia. *Teren tia*, who must have lived one hundred and three years, took for her second husband Sallust, another enemy of *Cicero*. *Messalla* was her third husband. Dion gives her a fourth, *Vibius Rufus*, who was consul under *Tiberius*, and who boasted, that he possessed two things which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age which had preceded him, the wife of *Cicero*, and the chair in which *Cæsar* had been

been killed. *Tullia* had scarce been one year the widow of *Piso*, her first husband, when she married *Furius Crassipes*, and the feast was celebrated in the house of *Cicero*. Some time after, she separated from him, and was remarried to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom she also quitted*.

WE may even infer from the honours which were enjoyed by those who had adhered to the state of widowhood, that they were not the greatest number. It is not usual to distinguish common actions with applause, but those only, which, by their rareness, appear meritorious. This is not all: *Numa*, by limiting to ten months all mourning, for whomsoever it was, without excepting that of widows, forbade them, by the same law, to enter on second nuptials before that time was expired; and if any were obliged to anticipate it, they were to expiate their fault by the sacrifice of a cow with calf.

WIDOWERS, not being so much the

* St Jerome speaks with indignation of a man in his time, at Rome, who had buried twenty wives, and of a woman who had buried two and twenty husbands.

slaves of decorum, married when they thought proper. Many chose rather to keep a concubine than to give a step-mother and coheirs to their children. The Roman law tolerated it; and the children which sprung from this commerce, although they were not legitimate, nor capable of succeeding their father, were not however reputed bastards. It even appears, that they could attain to offices and employments.

It was not the same with polygamy, formerly in use amongst most nations, and especially in the east, as it still is. The Romans, more severe in their manners, never practised it: they even extended that regularity to concubines; a plurality of them was prohibited.

PLUTARCH observes, that *Mark Antony* is the first of the Romans who took the liberty of marrying two wives; he cites no other example. The anecdote which Macrobius * has preserved us, is known, One day the mother of *Papirius*, surnamed *Prætextatus*, because that though he still

* Sat. 1. 6.

wore the robe *prætecta*, his father was accustomed to take him with him to the senate, wanting to know of him what had been debated there; he told her, that it had been resolved, that, for the future, every man should be allowed to have two wives. His mother having immediately spread that news, many women presented themselves next day to demand, that every woman might be also allowed to have two husbands. The senators, surprised with so strange a proposition, discovered the whole mystery from *Papirius*, who informed them of what had passed. They commended his prudence, and ordained, that, *Papirius* only excepted, no young people should be allowed to attend the debates in the senate.

C H A P. VI.

Of the paternal power. Of the exposing of children. Of emancipation. Of adoption. Of the registering of children, of names, and of education.

THE power which *Romulus* gave fathers over their children, appears excessive.

excessive. He permitted them to imprison and load them with fetters, to beat them with rods, to confine them in the country, to make them work with his slaves, to sell them, and even to put them to death.

WE know, that the barbarous custom of exposing children, was common amongst the ancients. *Lycurgus* had established it at Sparta. As soon as a child was born, the elders of each tribe visited it. If they found it well formed, strong, and vigorous, they ordered that it should be reared; but, if they found it ill made, delicate, and weak, they exposed it*.

By his example, *Romulus* introduced the same practice at Rome, with this restriction, not to dispose of the life of a child, till after three years, because, in that interval, it might acquire a state of health; supposing likewise, that a father and mother, after having reared it for that time, would have taken an affection for it, and would feel more pain in exposing it. But that law, although confirmed by those

* Plutarch says, that they precipitated it into a gulf, situated at the foot of Mount Taygetus.

of the twelve tables, was neglected afterwards, and the custom of exposing children became very common at Rome.

FATHERS were the judges and the masters of their children. They had a right to disinherit them at pleasure. All that a son could amass, except what he gained in the army, and at the bar, was at the father's disposal. He was master of his person, and of all the property he could acquire*.

A MASTER had less power over his slave, than a father over his children. A slave, once sold, became free, if his new master enfranchised him; but a father might sell his son three times; and he must have been as many times set at liberty, before he could be free from the paternal power. *Numa* softened the rigour of that law: it had place only in regard to sons not married; that a free woman might not be exposed to become the wife of a slave,

* This property was called *peculium*, a name also given to that which might be acquired by a slave.

and a slave herself, through the caprice of her father-in-law *.

MOTHERS had no share in the power of fathers over their children. One of the best reasons that can be given for it, is,

* It is pretended that the power of fathers over their children was already restrained in the times of the republic; it is certain it was so by the emperors; a power so absolute, not being consistent with a monarchical government. *Trajan* emancipated a son who had been ill treated by his father; and this son happening to die, he would not allow his father to succeed to his effects. *Adrian* confined to an island, a father who had killed his son in hunting, on a simple suspicion of adultery. From that time, the power of fathers over their children diminished. *Constantine* took from them the power of life and death. It was absolutely remitted to the civil magistrate, by an institution of *Valentinian*. The emperors also took away their right of selling them. If *Constantine* permitted it, it was only in cases of extreme necessity, and for new-born children, to prevent their perishing of want; with this reserve also, that the same children might be ransomed by their father, or by others, or might ransom themselves at the same price they had been sold for. In after times, to reform a custom so inhumane, they ordained, that poor and indigent parents should be maintained at the public expense. Lastly, that of exposing them, was forbid on pain of punishment, by the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Valens*, and *Gratian*.

that

that they are commonly too indulgent to them, and they are, besides, themselves under the power of their husbands. The power of fathers, on the contrary, extended, not only over their own children, but also over their descendents, except those of the female side. They lost it only in cases which took from them the right of citizens, as banishment, and such like cases. It depended upon them to emancipate their children when they thought proper. A father could not be obliged to do it unless he was proved to be a man of bad morals, or that he treated his children with too great severity, or that he had received some legacy on condition of emancipating them. That act was executed in presence of a magistrate, and five Roman citizens, who served as witnesses. A sort of imaginary bargain was set on foot, in which the father sold his son three times to another, bought him again as often, and then set him free. By that, the son became his own master; but he was not put in possession of his adventitious effects, the use of half of which still belonged to the father. He preserved over his sons the same rights as

a master over his freed men. He inherited their effects if they died intestate, and he was the lawful guardian of the children they left under age.

THIS absolute power, exercised by hard and severe fathers, became tyrannical. History furnishes us examples of it which shock us; but when it was found tempered by sentiments of natural affection, it contributed to cherish in the hearts of children that filial piety of which many striking examples were seen in Rome, and it served to maintain order and subordination in families. For this end, it must have been given to fathers, and, in order to engage them to bring up their children, by providing them with all the authority which the cares annexed to the education of youth require. “We
 “ have,” says Seneca, “ rendered the
 “ authority of fathers sacred, because it
 “ was essential to the public good, that
 “ they should bring up their children.
 “ It was necessary to engage them to it by
 “ motives powerful enough to lead them
 “ to run the risks of their education; they
 “ could not be treated in the same style
 “ with other benefactors, who are told to
 “ chuse

“ chuse whatever objects of their benevo-
 “ lence they please, and, if they are de-
 “ ceived, to chuse others more worthy.
 “ When fathers take upon themselves the
 “ care of their children, choice and dis-
 “ cernment can have no room in their de-
 “ termination. It is chance which de-
 “ cides. It was therefore necessary to
 “ give them a certain power, to encou-
 “ rage them to undertake the task *.”

ALL the rights which fathers had o-
 ver their children, were transmitted to
 those who adopted them; and those who
 were adopted, became the heirs and law-
 ful successors of their adopting fathers.
 They were placed in his rank, they enter-
 ed into his family, they took the name
 of it, adding that of the family from
 whence they came, to preserve something
 of their origin †.

THERE

* Senec. de benefic. l. 3. c. 2.

† Custom has varied upon this subject. Some
 took the name, and even the prænomens and surname
 of the family they entered into, adding the name
 of the family they sprung from, or one of the
 surnames, which served to distinguish the branches of
 it. For example, *M. Junius Brutus* being adopt-

THERE were two or three sorts of adoption in use amongst the Romans. The two principal were the adoption, properly so called; and that which was called *arrogatio* or *arrogation*. The first was for minors; it was made in presence of a magistrate and witnesses, with ceremonies nearly alike those of the emancipation. By a kind of imaginary bargain, the father sold his son three times to him who adopted him, and then remitted him to him with all the rights annexed to the quality of father.

ed by *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo*, took all those names, and kept only the surname of his family, calling himself *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*. Others contented themselves with joining to their new names that of their family, giving it the form of a surname. *Augustus*, who was named *C. Octavius*, having been adopted by *Julius Cæsar*, took the name of *C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus*. Others wanted to preserve the name of their family without any change: for example, *C. Cæcilius*, whom *C. Plinius Secundus* adopted, called himself afterwards *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus*, and not *C. Plinius Secundus Cæcilianus*. Lastly, others kept of their first family, only the surname of the branch they sprung from; witness *P. Cornelius Scipio*, adopted by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, who took the name of *Q. Metellus Scipio*.

THE

THE arrogation regarded those, who being their own masters, subjected themselves to the power of him who adopted them. It required only the consent of the people to acquire the force and quality of law. This consent was asked in these terms : “ Romans, ye are entreated
 “ to consent that N. N. be declared, to
 “ all intents and purposes of the law, the
 “ son of N. N. as if he had been born to
 “ him in lawful marriage, and that he
 “ may have over him the power of life
 “ and death, as a father has over his own
 “ son. This, Romans, is what ye are
 “ entreated to confirm *.

THERE were three conditions necessary to render these acts regular; they were also requisite for simple adoption. The first was, that he who adopted should be older than the son to be adopted. He was to be about eighteen years older, to have no children, nor hopes of any. The second, that the honour and the religion, or the domestic worship, and particular

* That sort of adoption was called *arrogatio*, from the verb *arrogare*, to propose, to demand; because they proposed it to, and demanded it of the people.

sacrifices of the two families, should receive no prejudice. Lastly, that there should be no fraud or collusion; and that no other end was proposed than the natural effects of a true adoption. The discussion of these three articles belonged to the college of pontiffs. If they approved the demand, it was referred to the decision of the people. In after-times, the emperors arrogated this right to themselves; they even granted to women, who had no children, a permission to adopt.

THE third kind of adoption was that which was made by testament, either for the name or for the effects. It was to be confirmed by the prætor, or even by the people after the death of the testator. That sort of adoption was already in use in the times of the republic. Examples of it became frequent under the emperors, who themselves put it in practice.

ADOPTION had place among the Romans more than amongst any other nations, for reasons which were peculiar to them. One was, the desire and obligation of preserving in families the domestic worship and particular sacrifices which
were

were attached to them *. The other, which regarded the Patricians, was the right of being elected to the office of tribune of the people; they were excluded from it, unless they had been admitted by adoption into the Plebeian order. Lastly, the third was drawn from the rights and privileges which I have men-

* Titus Livius, *l. 5. c. 46.* gives us an example of these sacrifices. During the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls, a young Roman, says he, by a very bold action, attracted the attention and admiration of both enemies and citizens. There was a sacrifice attached to the family of the *Fabii*, which was to be made on one certain day of the year, upon the *Mons Quirinalis*. *C. Fabius Dorso*, to go and acquit himself of this duty, clothed himself with the ornaments used in that ceremony, and bearing the statues of his gods, he passed through the enemies guards, and arrived composedly upon the *Mons Quirinalis*. Having finished the sacrifice which had brought him there, he returned by the same road, with a determined air and step, without shewing the least mark upon his face of being frightened or disconcerted; and being well persuaded, that the gods would protect a man whom the fear of death itself could not deter from paying them the honour which was due to them, he re-entered the Capitol: whether such surprising courage had stupified and confounded the Gauls, or whether they were restrained by respect for religion, of which they were not insensible.

tioned

tioned to belong to the quality of father of a family.

BUT these same motives, I speak of the two last, which rendered adoptions frequent, occasioned fraudulent ones. Not only Patricians, in the view of obtaining the office of tribune, procured themselves to be adopted for form's sake by some plebeian; but, on the approach of the elections of magistrates, or the distributions of governments, those who were without children made pretended adoptions, that they might enjoy the privileges of fathers of families; and when, by the assistance of that fraud, they had obtained offices or employments, they emancipated those they had adopted.

THAT abuse was taken into consideration under the reign of *Nero*. The real fathers made strong representations to the senate upon this subject, opposing the rights of nature and the pains of education to these artificial and transient adoptions. "Should not those be contented," say they, "who have no heirs of their blood, "when they see themselves surrounded "with a court which gives them great "influence for obtaining whatever they
 " wish,

“ wish, living at the same time in full
 “ tranquillity, and free from every care ?
 “ and we, after having long expected the
 “ moment when we should enjoy our privi-
 “ leges, see our hopes suddenly dispersed,
 “ and men become fathers without in-
 “ quietudes, and who lose their children
 “ without mourning and without regret,
 “ partake with us the rights of true and
 “ natural fathers ?” Upon these repre-
 sentations, the senate made a decree, bear-
 ing, That fraudulent adoptions should be
 of no use to those who had made them, for
 attaining honours, or even for succeeding
 to such estates as might fall to them in
 consequence.

SERVIUS TULLIUS had ordained, that
 at the birth of each child they should carry
 a piece of money into the temple of *Juno*
Lucina ; one at each death into that of
Venus Libitina ; and, lastly, a third into
 that of the goddess *Juventa*, when a ci-
 tizen assumed the viril robe. *M. Aurelius*
 renewed that regulation, grown obsolete
 through non-observance, in order that
 each citizen might more easily prove his
 rank, if it was contested : he ordained,
 that the name of each child, born free in
 Rome,

Rome, should be carried within thirty days to the archives of the treasury in the temple of Saturn ; and, for the same end, he established in the provinces registers and public records.

THEY gave boys the family-name the ninth day after the birth, and girls on the eighth ; but they did not give them the *prænomen*, or, as we should say, the baptismal name, till they took the viril robe, and to girls when they were married. The *prænomen* of these last was marked by letters reversed ; for example, C. and M. reversed signified *Caia* and *Marcia*. In after-times, they had only their family-name ; they kept it when they were married, without taking that of their husband. Sometimes they softened it by a diminutive ; instead of *Tullia*, for example, they said, *Tulliola*. If there were two daughters in the same family, they distinguished them by the names of eldest or youngest. If there were many of them, they named them in order : they made diminutives of these names, as *Secundilla*, *Quartilla*, &c.

WE know that the Romans, for the most part, drew their family-names from agriculture,

agriculture, or from some circumstance in rustic life, in which they were distinguished for their industry. It was from hence, that, according to the opinion of *Varro*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, &c. that the families *Asinia*, *Vitellia*, *Suillia*, *Porcia*, *Ovinia*, &c. were named, because that their authors had been famous in the art of rearing these sort of animals, as others had been for the culture of certain kinds of pulses, such as the *Fabii*, the *Lentuli*, the *Pisos*, the *Ciceros*, &c.

THEY had two or three names, and sometimes four, the *prænomen*, the *nomen*, the *cognomen*, and the *agnomen*. The *prænomen* was the proper name of the person; it answered to our baptismal name. The *nomen* was the family-name. The *cognomen*, or surname, which, in its original, was a sort of nickname or honourable title, distinguished the different branches of the same house. Lastly, the *agnomen*, another surname, but personal, was given on some particular occasion, as a title of honour, or an acknowledgment of some glorious action. Thus the two *Scipios* were surnamed, one *Africanus*, the other *Asiaticus*. From them these titles became, in succeeding

ing times, a common usage, although the consent of the senate, or that of the people, was necessary to obtain them.

MANY citizens who were ambitious of that distinction, obtained it without merit. The Emperors themselves fought that honour, which the senate often lavished upon them through pure flattery*.

LET

* We see an example of these four names united in the two Scipios: one was called *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, the other *L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus*. *P.* and *L.* or *Publius* and *Lucius*, are *prænomena*. They were abbreviated, some by a single letter, as here; others with two letters, as *Ap. Appius*, *Cn. Cnæus*; lastly, others with three, as *Mam. Mamercus*, *Sex. Sextus*. *Cornelius* is a family-name; the most of them ended in *ius*. *Scipio* is the name of the branch which distinguished it from that of *Sylla*, of which was the dictator *L. Cornelius Sylla*.

The Romans designed themselves by their employments, and by their dignities, and also by the name of their tribe. This name was feminine: they often placed it between the name and the surname, as in this example, *Sergius Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus*; and that it might not be taken for the name of a woman, or for a surname, when it was abridged, they distinguished it either by the different size of their characters, or by their different form.

They

LET us proceed to the education of children. It varied amongst the Romans, according to the times and according to the manners. Conformable, in the early ages, to the hard and laborious life they led, it became softer and more delicate in proportion to the progress of luxury; it also became more useful, and better adapted to form the heart and mind, as soon as arts and sciences began to be encouraged amongst them.

Thus, while the Romans were only occupied with arms and agriculture, with

They had sometimes two family-names, or at least the name of one family, and the hereditary surname of another. That custom had place when a citizen passed from one family to another by adoption. (*See the note, page 279. 280.*) When a stranger became a Roman citizen, he made it a duty to take the *prænomen* and the *nomen* of him who had procured him that advantage. It was the same with the slaves, who, besides their general denomination, drawn from the name of their masters, as *Luciores*, *Marciores*, &c. that is to say, *Lucii pueri*, &c. had also another kind of surname for distinction among themselves, kept this surname, and joined it to the name and to the *prænomen* of their master when he enfranchised them. Thus the poet *Andronicus*, a freed man of *M. Livius Salinator*, was called *M. Livius Andronicus*.

the toils of war, and those of the country, these two objects formed the principal part of the education of youth.

THE cares of infancy were referred to mothers. They themselves suckled their children, they did not abandon them to the conduct of their slaves and freed women; and the custom of chusing nurses amongst them was not established, till idleness, and a taste for pleasure, got the better of maternal love.

As the children advanced in age and strength, the fathers initiated them in the toils of husbandry, the handling of arms, and the exercises of war. They instructed them in the laws and manners of the country, as they themselves had been instructed, seeking to render them, at the same time, good citizens, good soldiers, and good magistrates.

It is true, that, at that time, no great study was necessary to discharge this latter duty; since, before the laws of the twelve tables, the Romans had very few written laws, and none but the Patricians had any knowledge of them; most of the citizens could neither read nor write. The brazen nail, which was every year fixed to the temple

temple of Jupiter, had been invented to supply the ignorance of the people, who had only to cast their eyes upon the number of these nails, to know the number of the years *.

BUT as soon as the taste of the arts and sciences had passed from the Greeks to the Romans, and that from them they had refined and civilized their manners, from that time nothing was neglected for the education of youth. Morals, the culture of the mind, bodily exercises, address, every thing became the object of it.

THE opinion of some ancient masters was, that, before the age of seven years, children were incapable of any sort of discipline; but the wisest thought, that the culture of the genius ought always to keep equal pace with that of the manners; that three years were sufficient for nurses; that children should begin

* We know, that, in after-times, that usage was converted into a religious ceremony, to avert distempers and public calamities, as if this nail had the virtue of stopping them. The honour of fixing it passed from the consuls to the dictator. Sometimes they even created one on purpose for that ceremony.

to be instructed as soon as they began to speak.

THEY were attentive to the purity of the language in which they were to accustom children to receive instruction, because their first habits would necessarily be formed from these early seeds of purity or corruption. Thus, the two *Gracchi* were thought to owe their eloquence to the instructions of their mother *Cornelia*, a lady of extraordinary politeness, and whose letters were read and admired a long time after her death for the elegance and purity of their style.

THEY sent their children to public schools, of which there were some for each sex. They were led thither and brought back by slaves intrusted with the care of them. We know, that *Claudius* arrested *Virginia* in the forum, as she went to the schools attended by her governante, and that he claimed her as his slave, to deliver her to the infamous *Appius*.

THESE slaves were called *pedagogues*, that is, *conductors of children*, a Greek word, adopted by the Latins. Some of these pedagogues received instruction at the schools themselves, by attending their
young

young masters, sufficient to be sometimes preferred to the office of domestic preceptor *. Thus, they joined private instruction to public lectures, which, by that means, became the more successful.

THE custom of the great at Rome was, to keep, even in their houses, some philosopher, or other learned Grecian, giving him liberty to keep open school for the young nobility, who came thither to be taught with their children.

NOTWITHSTANDING these helps and precautions, far from depending upon the masters for the whole care of education, fathers themselves gave their attention to every thing that could contribute to it. There were some who taught their children themselves, though they had masters in the house very capable of doing it.

SUCH was *Cato the Censor*. The thing appears incredible on a comparison with

* It is from hence that persons charged with the care of instructing and directing youth, received also the name of *pedagogues*; and it is in this sense that the apostle employs the term, when he calls the law a pedagogue to bring us unto Christ. Gal. iii. 24. 25. &c.

our manners and customs ; but Plutarch affirms positively, that he himself instructed his son in letters, grammar, and law ; that he taught him to dart the javelin, to exercise his arms, to support heat and cold, to swim through the most rapid rivers. He wrote histories for him with his own hand, and in large characters, in order that he might be acquainted, before he entered into the world, with the great men of the republic, and their most glorious actions, to form himself upon these great models ; and, always attentive to purity of manners, he avoided, in his presence, every word which might have the slightest tendency to offend against decency, as if he had been before the Vestal virgins.

AUGUSTUS, says Suetonius *, was himself the writing-master of his grandsons *Caius* and *Lucius* ; he taught them figures, and such like things ; he never lost sight of them, and made them eat at his table. In his journeys, they attended him in a litter, or rode on horseback, by his side.

* In vit. Aug. c. 64.

THE exercises of the body, wrestling, boxing, throwing the quoit, running, riding, driving the chariot, drawing the bow, whirling the sling, darting the javelin, leaping of ditches, swimming through rivers ; in a word, whatever might harden the body, increase its strength, give nimbleness and agility, form them for war, and give dexterity in arms, made a part of education, as well as politeness and address.

BUT the morals were the principal object, and the Romans turned all their care towards it. The attention they gave to it, began at the birth of a child. They committed it to the conduct of some matron of their relations, whose principal commission was to form the first habits of its discourse and actions, to watch over its rising passions, and to direct its inclinations ; and, in proportion, as children advanced in age and in reason, they inured them to discipline, and regularity of manners ; they inspired them by precepts supported by example, with sentiments of virtue and probity, of generosity and disinterestedness, of justice and good faith ; and, above all, applied themselves to in-
grave

grave on their hearts, those grand principles, which, amongst the Romans, formed the character of a true citizen; veneration for the gods, submission to parents, love of their country, and of liberty, zealous attachment to the constitution, and to the laws.

AFTER having gone through the studies of childhood, the young people were made to take the viril robe. This change, which freed them from the authority of their governours, and raised them to a state of more liberty, was, for them, an occasion of extraordinary joy. They introduced them into the forum, where the general assemblies were held, where the magistrates harangued the people, and where the most important causes were pleaded. This place was, of consequence, the school of public affairs, and of eloquence: it was the scene where the interest of the empire was discussed, the source of private fortunes, and of public hopes. Young men were presented there with great solemnity, as I have said, to enter upon their career of business, and of honours, and to form themselves to every thing which might render them useful to the state.

THEY

THEY then put them under the special protection of some senator, celebrated for his eloquence, and for his skill in the laws of the republic. They were so many masters, who, without making a profession of teaching young people, directed them by their counsels and by their example; and these again attaching themselves to them, carefully collected all that fell from the mouths of men so respectable.

UNDER their direction, they made themselves perfect in the knowledge of the laws. It was looked upon to be so necessary for attaining employments, that, in the schools, children learned the laws of the twelve tables by heart, as they were taught the poets and classical authors.

THAT knowledge was transmitted as an inheritance in many of the noblest families in Rome, who, giving their advice *gratis* when they were consulted, conciliated the favour and attachment of the citizens, and, by that means, acquired considerable authority in the public affairs.

ELOQUENCE, and the art military, were not less useful and indispensable; for the quality

quality of a good general, and that of an able orator, were the surest recommendations for attaining the highest dignities. These two talents were placed almost on a level, as one of them defended the state against enemies abroad, and the other protected the republic and the citizens at home.

THE youth formed themselves to the trade of war by the exercises I have spoke of, and by those of the *Campus Martius*, where, after long races on foot, and on horseback, and after many fatigues, covered with sweat and dust, they threw themselves into the Tiber, and swam through it.

IN the camp, they employed themselves in the most rugged toils, removing the earth, digging of ditches, planting of pikes and palisadoes, carrying of burdens, running and leaping, skirmishing and combating among themselves, &c. "Thus formed," says Sallust, "no fatigues could exhaust, no difficulties rebuff, no danger, no enemy, fright them. Their courage rendered them superiour to every thing; no combat was more animated, nor more eagerly fought by
" them,

“ them, than when glory was the prize.
 “ To spring upon the enemy, to scale a
 “ wall, to distinguish themselves by some
 “ bold exploit, to be renowned for va-
 “ liant actions ; these were the objects of
 “ their ambition ; these, according to
 “ them, were riches, honour, and true
 “ nobility *.

THEY learned eloquence by study, and by exercise. There were in Rome Greek and Latin schools ; and they accustomed young people to compose and declaim in both languages ; a useful practice, and even necessary, to a nation which had received all its learning from the Greeks. It imported them to keep up a commerce with their masters, that they might not relapse into ignorance.

THEY sent the young men of quality to Athens, accompanied with a governour. They went thither to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the most polished and civilized nation ; to imbibe good taste at its source, and letters, sciences, and fine arts, in their native country, where, as they all sprung from the

* Bell. Catilin. c. 7.

same root, and were nourished with the same sap, they flourished all at once.

THEY sent them also to *Marseilles*, to take lessons in the sciences and urbanity. *Tacitus* applauds himself for having been at that school. They went thither from all countries. Young people were there instructed in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, medicine, mathematics, astronomy; in a word, in all kinds of literature.

LASTLY, they made them attend the tribunals, and the pleadings of the most celebrated orators, in order to form them to business, and to the eloquence of the bar, and to enable them to plead the causes which might be intrusted to them.

It was an ancient establishment of *Romulus*, who had charged patrons with the defence of their clients, without any retribution, which could bear the name of salary. Thus, the same voices which commanded the people, were also employed in defending them. The Romans of the highest distinction consecrated their talents gratuitously to the service of their fellow-citizens, as the protectors of innocence and virtue.

YET we must not imagine, that this generosity of the great was so disinterested, that they proposed no advantage from it. It was properly the instrument of their ambition. They gave their labour to the people, and the people acquitted themselves of that debt by the honours and employments which depended upon their suffrages.

BUT in after-times, the custom being introduced for the clients to offer an annual present to their patrons, and the body of the citizens being by that means become tributary to the senate; *M. Cincius*, tribune of the people, procured a law, the year of Rome 594, which forbade the senators to receive, under any pretext whatever, either money or presents, especially for pleadings. And when the Emperors had taken away from the Roman people the right of electing their magistrates, and their suffrage in judgments and deliberations, private persons seeing themselves without patrons to defend their causes, intrusted them to such citizens as they believed the most eloquent and the best versed in the law: this was the origin of the profession of advocate in

Rome, for whom it became necessary to regulate a salary.

CLAUDIUS was the first who fixed it. He permitted advocates to receive for a whole cause as far as ten thousand sesterces, (one thousand two hundred and fifty livres); but all above that was deemed extortion. Under Trajan, the senate made a decree, which obliged the parties to swear, before their cause was pleaded, That they had neither given nor promised any thing to their advocate; permitting them, nevertheless, to gratify them afterwards with some acknowledgment, as far as a certain sum. The Emperor authorised this decree, by a rescript which he sent to the senate.

THESE laws were not made to deprive the advocates of the just fruit of their labours, but to check the avidity of those mercenary wretches, who, by their exactions and their perfidy, debased a profession so honourable. Tacitus says, that they made a shameless traffic of their engagements, and that their treachery was offered to sale as in a public market*.

Juvenal

* Nam cuncta legum et magistratuum munia in se trahens

Juvenal* represents them affecting to appear in litters, richly clothed, and with great attendance, displaying, while they pleaded, their hands loaded with brilliant rings, in order to be thought extremely rich, and to procure larger fees†.

THE education of the ^{female} sex was at first confined to the interior economy of the house, and to needle-work, and spinning, in which mothers themselves instructed their daughters: but when once the taste for arts and sciences was diffused at Rome, the education which was given them, took a larger scope; to the care of forming their manners, and regulating their

trahens princeps, materiam prædandi patefecerat: nec quidquam publicæ mercis tam venale fuit, quam advocatorum perfidia. *Tacit. annal. l. 2. 5.*

* ————— Convenit illis

Et strepitu et facie majoris vivere census.

Sed finem impensæ non servat prodiga Roma.

Ut redeant veteres, Ciceroni nemo ducentos

Nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit annulus ingens.

Juv. sat. 7. v. 136.

† Menage cites an ordinance of Charlemagne, extracted from Nauclerus, which forbids lawyers, when they go to plead, to be attended with more than thirty horses.

appearance, was joined that of cultivating and adorning their minds.

SCIENCES and letters were no longer confined to the men; the women applied themselves to them, and some of them with success. The Greek and Latin languages, eloquence and philosophy, were equally cultivated by both sexes.

JUVENAL, in his satire against the women, speaks of the ridiculously learned. He represents them seizing the conversation at the beginning of the entertainment, to talk of nothing but science. "They fall," says he, "upon the praises of Virgil. They weigh in the same balance, the merit of that poet, and the glory of Homer. They find excuses for Dido, even when she stabs herself. They determine of the beautiful, and of the sovereign good *." But this was not the greatest number. There were others, who, without making a parade of their learning, yet without affecting to conceal it, knew how to join to the modesty and grace peculiar to the sex, the taste for letters, and the beauties of a cultivated mind.

* Juv. sat. 6. v. 433.

CORNELIA excelled in the epistolary style; her letters are cited with honour by *Cicero*, and by *Quintilian*. She was fond of the sciences, and of the languages, and spoke her own with great purity. It was evident in the language of her children, who were distinguished for their eloquence.

APPIAN has preserved the discourse which *Hortensia*, the daughter of *Hortensius* the orator, pronounced in public, before the triumvirate. They had taxed one thousand and four hundred ladies of the greatest fortune and quality, to levy troops against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. At the head of her companions she dared to plead their cause before this tribunal, where men, bending under oppression, durst not raise their eyes, nor open their mouths; and she obtained, that the number of the ladies taxed should be reduced to four hundred.

CICERO was intimately connected with a lady named *Cerellia*. He often, in his epistles, commends her taste for books and philosophy. This common inclination made him fond of her conversation and her writings. He speaks with ho-

nour of the Roman ladies, who had the most taste for elegant learning and polite language; aiming to distinguish himself in the art of eloquence, he employed the intervals of his leisure in their company.

THUS, while he took the lessons of Scævola the augur, he often procured the conversation of *Lalia* his spouse, whose discourse, according to his own testimony, was tinged with the elegance of her father *Lælius*, the most polished orator of his age. He had the same correspondence with *Mucia* the daughter of *Lalia*, who married the celebrated orator, *L. Crassus*, and the two *Licinias*, who excelled in that delicacy of language, which was peculiar to their family.

Such were the cares which the Romans bestowed on the education of youth. Never any people gave more or stricter attention to it. From hence so many great men, in every kind, and so many women of eminent merit, which Rome produced. From hence, so many virtues which reigned there, I mean, in the glorious ages of the republic.

THE END.